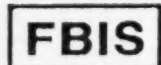


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15 JULY 1986

## Near East/South Asia Report



FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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15 JULY 1986

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ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

PRELATE BARRED FROM VISITING SOVIET ARMENIA

Montreal HORIZON in Armenian 19 May 86 pp 3,12

[Excerpts] Archbishop Mesrob Ashjian, Prelate of the Cilician Diocese of Eastern United States and Canada, was supposed to lead a group of pilgrims to Soviet Armenia and then to Jerusalem, to spend April 24 in the Fatherland and the Easter in the Holy City. However, the Holy Father was barred from entering the Soviet Union. To dispel rumors on this issue, our colleague had a conversation with Archbishop Ashjian. Below are excerpts from that interview:

Question: Your Holiness, we knew that you were preparing with great enthusiasm for your pilgrimage to the Fatherland. Later, we heard that you encountered some hindrances. Can you give us some explanation?

Answer: With pleasure. I had been preparing for many months to go to Armenia and to ascend Dzidzernagapert on April 24 together with hundreds of thousands of Armenians from Yerevan to place a wreath at the martyrs' monument there and to pray before the eternal flame in memory of our martyrs. Later, I would go to Jerusalem to take part in Easter week ceremonies.

You can imagine, then, how bitter my disappointment was when I was stopped at Moscow airport on April 22 and I could not realize my dream.

Question: Your Holiness, we believe that you had made all the necessary preparations. Did you have a visa problem? Why were you refused entry? After all, this was not the first time that you were visiting the Soviet Union.

Answer: We had naturally made all the necessary preparations. I as well as all members of our group had already obtained their visas. We departed from New York without any problems on April 21 and arrived in Moscow at 5:00 pm on April 22. While the other members of our group slowly passed through customs, I was held at checkpoint 36. I stayed there for nearly an hour. Later, a uniformed military policeman made a few phone calls and invited me to sit at the waiting room. At 6:30 pm, they asked me to bring my two pieces of luggage, which were sitting on the customs inspection table, to examine them separately. Of course, I did not carry anything illegal. The only things

they confiscated were films of the ceremonies held in connection with the 70th anniversary of April 24 and the schedule of the Gomidas concert which I was taking to Holy Echmiadzin. At 7:30, they told me that they would arrange for a one-way flight from Moscow to Brussel for me only. At 8:00, I was invited to board a bus, without having any opportunity to see anyone or even talk to members of my group, and I was taken to the Aeroflot waiting room which is 3 minutes away from the airport. This is where pilots, airline officials, people arriving in Moscow with no visas and passengers waiting for connections to other destinations wait. They are kept there as if they are in a prison. They cannot leave the building, and they are led to their aircraft only when it is time for their flight. I was not even permitted to phone Archimandrite Diran, the spiritual leader of the Armenians of Moscow, or Catholicos Vazken I in Echmiadzin. After lengthy appeals, I learned the next day, on April 23, that "there were irregularities in my papers" and that I could not enter Moscow. Left with no other recourse, I began thinking about leaving the country. My return ticket was for April 26 because that is when our airline had a flight. So, my options were either to wait until April 26 and hope that the Catholicos would hear about the incident and arrange something or to leave that sad waiting room as soon as possible. I decided to buy a new ticket and managed to find a seat on a flight to Frankfurt. I did that at 6:00 pm, and the flight was at 7:05 pm. I rushed to buy my ticket, collect my luggage from the other building and get on the plane. I arrived in Frankfurt at night, and the next day I commemorated April 24 alone, remembering Dzidzernagapert and praying by myself, but knowing in my mind that I was walking with my people.

Question: You had a truly bad experience. What did you do next?

Answer: After I arrived in Frankfurt, I made immediate arrangements and traveled via Cyprus to Lebanon where I stayed for two days. There, I consulted with His Holiness Catholicos Karekin II, attended a scheduled meeting of the National Central Administration and expressed our grief to the Catholicos and the Cilician Synod, on behalf of my diocese, for the blind shellings which caused damages of more than 1 million Lebanese pounds to the Catholicate. On Sunday, I attended together with the Catholicos and the Prelate of the Armenians of Lebanon, the induction of the new Maronite Patriarch in Bkerke. On April 29, I went to Jerusalem, also via Cyprus, to join my group of pilgrims who had arrived there from Armenia, and we had a glorious pilgrimage on the occasion of Easter.

Question: What do you plan to do at this stage? Have the pertinent authorities been informed? What do you attribute this incident to? As far as we know, you have plans to visit Soviet Armenia again in a few weeks. Will this incident have any further ramifications?

Answer: In Frankfurt, I tried to phone the Catholicos of All Armenians. When I failed, I sent a telegram to the Catholicos with the following text: "We arrived in Moscow on April 22 with 35 pilgrims. I was refused entry into the Soviet Union for reasons I do not understand. I ask for your blessings for our group and for myself." Later, as I already stated, I also informed Catholicos Karekin II who sent a telegram to the Holy Echmiadzin on April 28 in view of the fact that I am going to attend a meeting between the two holy

sees in Echmiadzin on 10 through 15 June with regard to the canon laws of the Armenian Church; I will be modestly heading the three-member Antilias delegation.

At this stage, it would be unnecessary and improper to make any assumptions. However, I am certain that the truth will be found out and this unpleasant incident will be amended soon.

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CSO: 4605/42



ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

'OPEN LETTER' TO GOVERNMENT ON FRENCH-TURKISH RELATIONS

Paris GAMK in Armenian/French 20 May 86 p 1

[Article by: Committee for Defense of the Armenian Cause (CDCA)]

[Text] The government's first statements and first actions concerning the Armenian cause and Turkey have caused disappointment and bitterness within the French Armenian community.

Our interpretation appears in the following memorandum reviewing various issues which affect the very roots of our community.

We hope that the government will change its evaluation of the Armenian cause so that it conforms better to the legitimate aspirations of the French Armenian community and of the Diaspora--aspirations to justice and to the most basic respect due to the individual and to peoples.

France was the first major power to transcend the permanent political blackmail exercised by the Turkish authorities as soon as the Armenian question is raised.

By breaking the wall of silence erected 70 years ago, it broke the vicious circle of complying with lies. President Pompidou suspended diplomatic relations between France and Turkey by refusing to accede to Turkish threats at the time of the inauguration in Marseille of a memorial dedicated to the genocide of Armenians.

The governments of Mauroy and Fabius made official and, when it was necessary for the French Armenian community and Turkey, fully recognized the reality of the Armenian genocide.

Through his declaration in Vienna, President Mitterrand succeeded in maintaining France's dignity, and ensuring its influence throughout a number of countries which harbor Armenian communities.

France's voice must continue to be heard with the same dignity and in accordance with the same principles.



An interview with Jacques Chirac on 12 March 1986 in Valence, recent statements made by Jean Bernard Raymond, minister of foreign affairs, the visit of the Turkish prime minister to Paris as well as other events have created serious concerns within the Armenian community and certain divergences from the attitude of the new government.

The points of divergence are described below.

#### The Word "Genocide"

The speech of Jean Bernard Raimond, minister of foreign affairs, in the National Assembly systematically excludes the use of the word genocide in the Armenian case and replaces it by diluted expressions: "a major drama" or "the Armenian massacre."

This wording which excludes the word genocide can also be found in a statement made by Jacques Chirac on 12 March in Valence, citing the "well-known, permanent historic problem."

The French Armenian community cannot under any circumstance accept this trend toward the use of euphemisms; when used repeatedly, these will only place into question once again the French government's recognition of the Armenian genocide.

We expect the new government to exhibit continuity with the attitude adopted by the previous governments which recognized the genocide of Armenians as a historic fact.

#### The Armenian Memorial in Paris

In the same interview of 12 March, Jacques Chirac states: "We have decided to erect a monument in Paris to Armenians who have died under every circumstance."

This generalization is based on the same logic and we believe that it will cause "obliteration" of the memory of victims of Armenian genocide--an obliteration that will satisfy the demands of the Turkish authorities whose avowed objective is to dilute and minimize crimes that constitute genocide.

If Jacques Chirac's scheme is intended to include in this memorial the memory of the Armenian volunteers who died for France, we can only oppose this idea. The memory of the Armenians who sacrificed their lives for France should in no way be dissociated from that of their French brethren who died for the same cause.

#### The French Government's Position

Jean Bernard Raimond stated: "The position of the French government is based first on a strong feeling of very great consideration for the victims of this drama and for their families. This feeling acquires special significance on the eve of the anniversary of 24 April 1915."

On the eve of this anniversary, the Turkish prime minister visited the prime minister and the minister of foreign affairs in Paris for the first time in over 5 years.

On 24 April itself, the French government granted Turkey the vice presidency in the Council of Europe, the trustee of the European Human Rights Convention!

Turkey remains a state in which democracy is not freely exercised, where political torture is commonplace. The Turkish authorities continue to falsify the history of the Armenian people and to impose this falsehood on Istanbul's Armenian community.

We cannot accept the actions of the French government which conform to the foreign minister's statement on the government's feelings toward the French Armenian community.

#### France, Turkey and the Armenian Problem

"The Armenian problem cannot be discussed without referring to Turkey, but our relations with Turkey cannot be defined solely in terms of this problem," stated the French minister of foreign affairs.

It should be noted that it was Turkey which reduced its diplomatic relations with France to the level of blackmail on the Armenian cause.

As for relations between France and Turkey, we agree that they should not be restricted to the Armenian problem alone.

In fact, they should include the problem of the military occupation of Cyprus, of the illegal creation of a Turkish state on the territory of the Republic of Cyprus, of the extortion, assassination, theft and plundering imposed on Greek civilians by the Turkish armed forces, all of which remain unpunished--like the Armenian genocide.

They should also include the constitutional and social system which, despite appearances, does not function or conform to the rules of our Western democracies and our European institutions.

As for the economic considerations of our foreign trade with this nation, everyone knows that Turkey is not now and will not soon be in a position to repay its foreign debt. The contract for the sale of Mirage aircraft mentioned during the last meetings will, therefore, be financed by the French taxpayer in the short run.

Finally, France's diplomatic relations should rest on a reevaluation of Turkey's role in the NATO system. It is surprising to note that the American bases in that country located near Libya were not used during

the U.S. raid on Tripoli..., that Turkey creates tensions by its military threats on Greece, another member of the Atlantic Alliance, without respect for cohesion within NATO.

In light of these facts, it is not possible for France to resume relations with Turkey on these terms, and with the enthusiasm that is currently displayed.

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ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

FRENCH-TURKISH RAPPROCHEMENT CITED; GIRAUD CRITICIZED

Paris GAMK in Armenian/French 27 May 86 p 1

[Article by M. Razmigian]

[Text] Ankara--Observers here have confirmed that French Defense Minister Andre Giraud's visit to Turkey is a culmination of the process of improving bilateral relations between the two countries.

Giraud, who has visited Turkey in an official capacity for the last 12 years, returned to Paris on Saturday after talks with Turkish President Kenan Evren, Prime Minister Turgut Ozal and Foreign Minister Vahit Halefoglu.

Speaking about his contacts, Giraud stated that the talks took place in a "candid and friendly atmosphere." The minister added that the French government wishes "to promote good relations with NATO members, including the Turkish government." He said that "Turkey is a major Mediterranean power between Europe and the Middle East."

Giraud insisted that the realignment of French policy "is not aimed against any country" and added that the French government will help the "establishment of a dialog" between Turkey and Greece.

Giraud said that, within the framework of a balanced policy, Paris supports the normalization of relations between the EEC and Turkey. These relations have remained frozen since the military coup in Turkey.

On its part, Turkey's right-wing government headed by Turgut Ozal expressed satisfaction at the opening of a "new era" in French-Turkish relations.

Relations between the two countries have deteriorated in the last 10 years--particularly since the election of a socialist government in France--because of French calls for the restoration of democracy and human rights in Turkey. The socialist government took a clear and explicit stand against Turkey on what is termed by Turkey "the alleged Armenian genocide" of 1915. As a result of these tensions, anti-French sentiments began to rise in Turkey. Such sentiments subsided recently following Ozal's visit to Paris last April. During that visit the two sides decided to give new impetus to bilateral economic relations. Let us mention that last year French products constituted only 2.2 percent of Turkey's imports.

The improvement of French-Turkish relations hinges on exactly this point. The government of Jacques Chirac is proposing to conquer the Turkish market of 50 million.

With reference to this issue, Defense Minister Giraud disclosed that several agreements will soon be signed on the sale of military equipment.

Paralleling contacts between French and Turkish industrialists, the next stage in the normalization of relations will come in the cultural field. A joint cultural commission at the ministerial level will meet in Paris on July 1 and 2.

Finally, Giraud, who conveyed a message from Chirac to Ozal, expressed satisfaction at the "restoration of democracy and the rapid economic recovery" in Turkey. He also stated that he has extended an invitation to an unnamed Turkish minister to visit France officially. Let us mention that Chirac has accepted his Turkish counterpart's invitation to visit Turkey.

### Conclusion

The statements made by Giraud and cited above are political in nature, and, therefore, they do not and cannot have any fundamental significance. In fact they do not conform with reality and are purely conjectural. Those statements were made for a variety of motives.

The most important and fundamental of those motives is to secure new markets and, more importantly, bigger profits. Can fundamental principles be sacrificed such objectives?

Prime Minister Jacques Chirac is prepared to sacrifice even the most fundamental principle, namely "Equality, Liberty and Fraternity," the foundations of France's existence, for additional material gains.

With his statements, Giraud wants to assert that coexistence between the oppressors and the oppressed is possible even if the oppressed remain as they are. He wants to assert that it is possible to ignore justice and truth in order to create a situation built purely on political motives and devoid of any moral principles.

At this stage the French-Armenian community cannot remain silent; as in the case of the "Manak" mission, which the French-Armenian community protested in various ways, the French-Armenian community today finds itself in a grave situation which requires the mobilization of all of our forces.

Forces which continue to support justice will surely remain by the side of the French-Armenian community. This is clearly manifested by a statement by Georges Sarre, the regional secretary of the Socialist Party. The statement, which echoes his party's viewpoint, appears in French in an adjacent column.

With the assistance of these forces, the French-Armenian community will prove that the truth must be exposed by removing the mask worn by the present Turkish administration.

ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

DUTCH PAPER COMMENTS ON 'ARMENIAN GENOCIDE'

Paris GAMK in Armenian/French 24 May 86 p 2

[Text] DE VOLKSKRANDT, a major daily published in Amsterdam, has published an interesting article entitled "The Armenians Remember the Genocide" about the first genocide in history. We provide below a translation of the important portions of this article by our colleague Nubar Yesayan.

Armenians all over the world remember the genocide committed by the Turks against the Armenian people. It is believed that this year this issue will be recognized at a broad international level for the first time. Last August, the U.S. Senate acknowledged the genocide and pledged to continue the debate on this issue in order to pass a resolution calling for the designation of the date of the Armenian genocide as a "day of man's inhumanity to man."

Simultaneously, the UN Subcommittee on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities endorsed a report by British expert Benjamin Whitaker containing references to the Armenian genocide. Also, the European Parliament is considering a resolution which may still be amended.

Until now, the "first genocide of the twentieth century" had been commemorated only by the Armenian communities of Europe and the United States. In 1915, the Ottoman Empire, which was allied with Germany and Austria during World War I, considered the presence of the Armenians a threat to its security.

At first, all Armenian soldiers in the Ottoman army were disarmed and used as laborers in road construction. Then they were taken to the mountains and isolated places where they were systematically massacred.

Next, the Turkish government arrested the entire Armenian intelligentsia, such as civil servants, lawyers, doctors, merchants and writers. Once the Armenian leadership was removed, the rest of the people were left defenseless. This was followed by the deportation. In many locations, the deportees were massacred. Armenian women and girls were Islamized by force or were killed upon refusal.

(The article also cites the writings and testimony of historian Arnold Toynbee. The article concludes as follows:)



## Horror

The European governments were deeply horrified, and this particularly manifested by the detailed reports sent by their envoys.

The Italian consul in Trabzon wrote about horrifying scenes which caused him "not to eat or sleep for a month."

Many foreign government representatives concluded in their reports that deportation was not the main objective of the Turkish government; its primary goal was to exterminate and annihilate the Armenian people. Those who managed to reach northern Syria died of starvation or were killed by Moslem mobs.

The Treaty of Sevres signed in 1920 provided for an independent Armenia, but the Turkish republic established in 1923 by Ataturk did not recognize this treaty which was signed by the Ottoman government.

During an initial attempt to open debate on this issue at the United Nations in 1973, a non-Turkish delegate said: "Although the Armenian genocide of 1915 is an historical fact, we cannot tarnish a civilized country (Turkey) which is a member of the international community. The European Parliament sees the restoration of Armenian rights as an humanitarian act and a moral duty. However, according to international law we cannot take any punitive measures against Turkey because the Armenians do not have a government."

Vandemeulbruch, representative of the Belgian "Greens" party in the European Parliament, says:

"Based on the independent testimony of both sides, a genocide definitely took place between 1915 and 1917."

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CSO: 4605/40



ALGERIA

REFUGEE CONDITIONS, RETURN DISCUSSED

Refugee Return Defended

Algiers ALGERIE ACTUALITE in French 29 May 86 p 25

[Article by Hanafi Taguemout: "Saharan Hospitality"]

[Text] If the operation had taken place in London, Madrid, Paris, Rome, or Geneva, it would probably not have rated more than a slim news brief in the miscellaneous events column. In our day and age, who cares for routine reports about petty events and people? We certainly do not care for those who seek to harm the prestige of a country and who do not hesitate to try to cast aspersions at it. We are certainly not dealing here with tiny extremist groups, nor with gangsters, nor the notorious. But in the context of what passes for sensational news, we do pay attention to the extreme distress of anonymous refugees over whose misfortunes we shed crocodile tears in passing, as if that could help them. This is true especially if the scenario happens to be located in the border areas of African countries that maintain desperately exemplary relations. We thus have all ingredients for concocting a dish which we do not fail to season generously in order to serve it, still steaming, to one's readership whose members are still rubbing their eyes.

What exactly did happen? Did Algeria deliberately kick thousands of refugees out of the country?

The drought in the Sahel has driven thousands of men, women, and children to the North; sick, in tatters, and having nothing left to eat, they keep moving back to the North in long and silent columns. Each year, fresh groups escape their parched and sterile lands.

What did the Algerians do?

Did they close their borders? Did they send those refugees from hunger back to their own homes?

No! The Algerians received them, cared for them, fed them, and housed them. Medical teams were immediately sent to the border areas. Money was rapidly

released without going through channels so as to be able to bring aid to these unfortunates as quickly as possible. Discreetly but efficiently, the local authorities and population, in a display of formidable solidarity drive, gave these thousands of desperate persons precious support. This is a form of solidarity which the international agencies themselves that went to these places described as being exemplary.

But life has become almost impossible in these localities for several months now. The reception given to real refugees attracted many persons who for the most part have nothing to do with that refugee status which moreover was not granted to them since their situation did not meet the requirements for obtaining such status. The local authorities failed to bring their flow to the borders under control and they did not manage to organize them inside the border areas. In a word, the situation is out of control. Many people live from hand to mouth: All kinds of deals, smuggling, prostitution, and cheap labor. All of the local agencies are overburdened and the commercial network is paralyzed; just one kilogram of potatoes costs 25 DA [Dinars]; a sack of flour costs more than 1,000 DA and a kilogram of sugar sells for as much as 50 DA. Some people burned their identity papers to avoid checkpoints. In short, their presence represented a threat to real refugees and to the supplies for the latter which were increasingly difficult to obtain.

A decision was then made in agreement with the countries concerned (Mali and Niger) to return all individuals whose papers were not in order. The Algerian authorities realized that they would thus be exposing themselves to a disinformation campaign but they preferred that risk rather than let the situation fester and thus exposing hundreds of human lives to probable epidemics that would not fail to create precarious living conditions.

The "do-gooders" cried bloody murder, as was expected. This was not the first time that they had done so, nor was it the last time they will do so, latching on to the flimsiest of pretexts.

But here are the incontrovertible facts.

There are still 1,500 refugees at Tamanrasset whom Algeria takes care of completely.

The refugee return decision was made in agreement with the authorities of the countries concerned.

The refugee return operation took place without any hardship or brutality. The countries from which those people had come did not express any reservation and they did not protest that operation.

So?

Well, the whole thing collapsed like a house of cards. But let us admit that these events are not at all likely to happen in civilized countries for a simple reason. In those countries, when somebody has nothing to support

himself with, when he has no home and no identity papers, he finds himself in the clutches of the law. Now, that is not called a crime of poverty; that would be too cruel. Instead, it is called "vagrancy." And so those people have to pay fines.

#### Effects of Refugee Influx Described

Algiers ALGERIE ACTUALITE in French 29 May 86 p 27

[Article by Ahmed Mostefai: "Mutual Aid First of All"]

[Text] In spite of the growing number of refugees fleeing the drought, mutual aid prevails at Djanet from the very first days of reception until the operation involving the return of the refugees to the borders. This is because the people of the desert carry in their collective memory the stigmata of those terrible periods of time when thirst imprinted its deadly cracks upon the land and the people.

By virtue of their geographic location, Ain Guezzam, Bordj Badji-Mokhtar, and Tamanrasset appear predestined to receive the "drought refugees" who keep coming in primarily from Mali and Niger, following the terrible drought of the years 1969-1973; on the other hand, Djanet became a kind of natural outlet for the growing number of refugees from the border towns starting in the 1980's. In other words, Djanet was not primarily considered a reception area but the extremely bad weather conditions that hit the Sahel and the return of the drought in 1984, portending the concentration of people from the border areas, are now producing a trend among refugees to go back to the North in search for better living conditions. Some of them, not very numerous, have even reached the seat of the Governorate of Illizi.

Coming primarily from Tamanrasset, the refugees from Niger and Mali began to settle at Djanet and in the small community of Bordj-El-Haoues starting in 1980. Tassili, the capital of the N'ajjers is mostly a tourist town now that agriculture has been wiped out by almost 20 years of drought; this certainly had very little to offer these alien population groups. Still, in a beautiful display of human solidarity, a response in terms of human aid, rather than rejection, prevailed. Here one might mention the case of the private businessman, the owner of a hotel that was being finished, the "El-Djenina," who graciously made his establishment available to the poorest families. This was indeed the sharing of the flour and the tea, without any ostentatiousness. The peoples of the desert carried in their collective memory the stigmata of those terrible periods of time when thirst imprinted its deadly cracks upon the land and the people.

No reception center was established at Djanet in spite of the growing number of refugees who finally amounted to some 750 individuals. Grass-roots mutual aid was no longer enough to support them; with the tacit tolerance of the local authorities, they were employed as laborers in agriculture, also working for the BTP [Public Works Bureau], and engaging in various service activities. Nevertheless, some refugee return operations heading toward Tamanrasset had already taken place with a particular peak in 1985 to

restrict this fluctuating but uninterrupted immigration. In addition to this refugee return program, the poor living conditions also resulted in some 200 voluntary departures spreading out from November 1985 until March 1986.

At Djanet, taking care of the refugees had become an increasingly spotty operation as their situation clashed with an economic reality that had been completely upset by the persistence of the drought. The economy of the Illizi region had been essentially pastoral and had revolved around camel and goat raising. But the nomadic way of life, considerably held back by the persistence of disastrous weather conditions, had caused people to gather around some of the oases in the governorate. This is why this massive influx of aliens did not fail to express itself in a shortage of food products, further aggravated by the supply conditions in the southern governorates themselves, due to the area's remoteness and to a road net that failed.

In spite of this crisis situation, the inhabitants of Djanet, just like local officials, can vouch that there had been no excesses in their town. The rather uncommon feeling of hospitality in these parts was paralleled by the dignity and peaceful attitudes of the refugees from Mali and Niger. When people share the sufferings of nature calamities, they develop the wisdom of not making things any worse.

After the refugee check and border return operation have been decided in the governorates of Illizi, Tamanrasset, and Adrar, as part of the regulations governing the stay of aliens, "priority was given to the human factor," as Master Boumakel Yahia, the head of the Daira of Djanet, put it. This is how the majority of the refugees, as everyone knows, spontaneously appeared before the authorities involved, following the corrections made in the way in which they were checked out and gathered. Their move to Adrar or Tamanrasset was delayed until the collection of the money which some of them were entitled to. They were also allowed to collect and arrange their property in good order. "Although the overwhelming majority had no papers, this is not a blind and brutal expulsion operation which we carried out," continued Master Boumakel Yahia. Doctors at the Illizi Hospital, who were involved in the operation, were charged with examining the physical condition of the refugees; and quite on their own they decided to keep patients, who were unable to travel, as well as pregnant women, until they had recovered. Some of them are still undergoing observation at the Illizi Hospital. The move was particularly carefully planned since, in addition to the trucks used for transportation, the convoy also included a medical team, water tanks, and sufficient food.

While the local population feels relieved and satisfied with the humane way in which this was done and with the corrections that were made in this operation of returning the refugees to the borders, it does not harbor any enmity toward the refugees. It knows that the desert is a killer today and that its inhabitants, more than all the others, depend on their country's economic recovery.

The desert is as thirsty for water as it is for huge investments that can make life livable in it. These are the same investments with which the rich nations could help the weakest. These are the same rich nations for which the desert is nothing but an idea, something that excites the imagination or, at most, a place for good sport.

MOROCCO

#### DRISS BASRI HOLDS MEETING WITH GOVERNORS

Casablanca MAROC SOIR in French 23 May 86 pp 1, 4

[Text] Rabat (MAP)--The royal governors in the prefectures and provinces of the kingdom completed 3 days of sessions, one of their series of regular meetings, on Thursday.

During the last day of the meetings, several members of the king's government submitted reports on various areas of economic and social life.

The Thursday meeting, chaired by Minister of Interior Driss Basri, began with the submission of technical reports on a number of questions demanding particular attention.

Abou El-Fatah, director of the Ministry of Interior administrations, submitted a report on the activities of the administrations which regulate the water and power, transportation and refrigeration facilities of Casablanca. He pointed out in this connection the improved efficiency in water and power consumption and the adoption of a policy aimed at achieving a financial balance by limiting expenditures and work on debts.

Mr Kassab, the chief engineer in charge of water problems, followed with a detailed report on the water situation in our country and the efforts made since independence to build dams for the storage of water, supplying adequate amounts to the cities and using the balance in agriculture. He spoke of the experience in building hill dams, a progressive Moroccan experiment, and described its specific features, such as the use of local materials and manpower and the increased dynamism of commercial activities in such areas.

Such dams, he said, meet the needs of the local areas, serving as reservoirs for drinking and irrigation water and as city flood protection systems.

Finally, he spoke of Morocco's experience in rotary irrigation, acquired after King Hassan II presented a prototype of the device to the Al Khair Cooperative in the Tadla area in December 1981.

Studies and practical experience, he added, are currently proving that this modern method, the efficiency of which has been tested, is necessary in order to meet the demand resulting from the population explosion. Yields per



hectare thus irrigated, he pointed out, range between 55 and 60 quintals of grain. Morocco, Kassab went on to say, will be able to achieve self-sufficiency in grain by the turn of the century despite an increase in population and thanks to an ambitious program which calls for the utilization of 12,000 such rotary pumps in all parts of the kingdom.

Lahcen Tagrit, the director of rural affairs at the Ministry of Interior, provided an overview of the project for fiscal reform, the purpose of which is to provide substantial financing for local settlements to enable them to carry out their development plans and to give them greater financial decentralization, thus enabling the elected councils to exercise their major duties in local affairs and the implementation of projects.

Tagrit explained all aspects of the project, its scope and purpose as a means of strengthening the finances of the local communities.

Minister of Crafts and Social Affairs Mohamed Abied spoke on the service structure within his department, pointing out that there are 800,000 craftsmen and that craft exports rank fifth among Morocco's exports.

He also mentioned the efforts made to organize and improve the efficiency of the Moroccan craft sector. It is an integral part of our civilization, enriched by successive generations, and has thus become a national asset demonstrating the authenticity of Morocco and the spread of its influence.

The minister also discussed the role of National Mutual Aid and its efficient contribution to promoting jobs in different parts of the kingdom. This was followed by a debate between the governors and the minister of crafts and social affairs on the situation of the officials in the sector, raw materials problems and support of beneficial associations.

Minister of Finance Mohamed Berrada discussed three topics: the economic situation, the current financial situation and the measures it has triggered which have influenced the national currency, and the value-added tax.

Berrada provided an analysis of our country's economic situation, which is characterized by positive sectorial and regional features.

The Moroccan economy, he said, is in a perfect state of health. However, the financial situation remains difficult, therefore requiring that efforts be joined together to surmount it. In this connection, the minister enumerated the causes of the financial crisis, supporting his statement with figures and tables going back to 1973, when an excessive increase in energy prices occurred, resulting in the destabilization of the currency market.

Current data, Berrada added, enable us to pursue an objective policy the results of which will become apparent in the future. The optimistic indicators include the drop in energy prices and the dollar exchange rate and therefore interest rates, to which we can add a good agricultural output and an efficient domestic financial policy.

He said we must use all these indicators to overcome the financial problems.

Concerning the national currency, Berrada pointed out that it is linked with several foreign currencies rather than to just one. The value of the dirham must be assessed in terms of all of these currencies. The dirham, he said, is showing substantial stability, according to the latest technical reports on the financial situation, following the difficulties encountered earlier.

Concerning the added value tax, the minister explained its purposes and the reasons which led to its adoption as well as the techniques used in its application.

This was followed by a debate between the minister of finance and the governors on the various aspects of economic activity in all the prefectures and provinces of the kingdom, as well as important financial problems, including the role of the private sector, the fate of the public economic sectors, the ways in which of foreign exchange is being drained from the country, and methods of combating tax evasion.

This was followed by a report delivered by Minister of Labor Hassan Abbadi. He emphasized the role played by Moroccan manpower, assessed at about 1 million individuals, in foreign countries.

The minister also discussed the efforts made by his department to guarantee decent conditions for this work force, either through agreements concluded with different countries or contacts with their officials.

Abbadi emphasized the importance of the historical visit paid by King Hassan II to France and the contacts he made with his loyal subjects, including workers, merchants and students, in that country.

The minister pointed out that the participation of the Moroccan colony abroad in the national loan for the Sahara came to 30 billion centimes, demonstrating the civic and patriotic spirit of its members yet once again.

Abbadi called for a joint effort to provide a proper welcome for workers coming home for their summer vacations.

The debate which followed between the governors and the minister of labor dealt in particular with the means of providing a proper welcome for our workers returning from abroad and the possibility of establishing a maritime line between Europe and the port of Nador.

In his speech, Minister of Ocean Fisheries and Merchant Marine Bensalem Smili emphasized, citing figures, the excellent situation of this sector, which has seen remarkable development, both in output, which reached 475,000 tons of fish in 1985, and fish exports, which have brought in notable annual income, up from 18 billion centimes in 1972 to 225 billion in 1985.

On the question of manpower, the minister pointed out that the number of workers directly or indirectly employed in maritime fishing increased from 56,000 in 1981 to 81,000 in 1985.



The debate which followed between the governors and Bensalem Smili focused on national consumption, the reasons for fish price increases, the experience acquired in shipping frozen fish, and the future policy for this vital food sector.

Minister of Youth and Sports Abdellatif Semlali, who was the next speaker, emphasized the philosophy on which his department's activities are based, inspired by the high directives issued by King Hassan II.

He followed this with a detailed description of the structure of his department and the houses of youth, and the policy being pursued in developing basic infrastructures.

The minister pointed out that the budget of his department accounts for 0.6 percent of the general state budget, which limits its potential for action. He emphasized the difficulties encountered by the ministry's services in meeting all the requests for equipment and management.

A number of reforms and financial initiatives, he said, will be implemented soon, thus providing this vital sector with the financial support it requires.

He also announced that a rally of young people, including the most outstanding students at the universities, institutes and schools and representatives of cultural, sports and social associations, will be held with the assistance of the Ministry of Interior, on the occasion of the youth festival. During the rally the youth of Morocco will present warm congratulations to King Hassan II within the context of the extensive festivities planned to commemorate the 25th anniversary of his accession to the throne of his glorious ancestors.

This presentation was followed by a debate on the various problems of youth and involving the services of the Youth and Sports Department.

In this connection, the governors submitted several suggestions designed to mitigate the existing difficulties.

Minister of Interior Driss Basri took the floor to emphasize the main questions discussed in the course of this meeting, and he again called upon His Majesty's governors to maintain a state of constant mobilization in the service of the fatherland and its citizens.

In particular, the minister discussed problems relative to housing, local assemblies, local fiscal reform, administrations and hill dams, pointing out that the next colloquium of local communities will provide an opportunity for to assessing the results of 10 years of continuous action by these communities and the local administrations.

Driss Basri urged the royal governors to pay particular attention to the activities of the local communities and to tour the areas constantly in order to inform themselves on the spot about the various problems which arise.

The minister also called upon the governors to increase the dynamism of economic activities in their areas, steadily supporting small and medium-size

enterprises and encouraging any initiative which can contribute to the economic prosperity of the prefectures and provinces.

The minister also asked the governors to make a scientific and objective study of the requirements for enhancing the urban development sector following the praiseworthy efforts deployed on a national scale by the Urban Development Office. He emphasized the need to assess housing shortages and amass the means for accomplishing this enhancement.

The minister called for a policy to reform the administrations, specifically by revising their management procedures and the formulation of their programs, so as to make them an instrument for the country's economic and social development. He also urged the governors to devote special interest to the cadres and new graduates, assigning them responsibilities consistent with their fields of knowledge and the areas in which they have proved their competence.

Finally, the minister appealed to the royal governors to pursue their efforts to enhance progress and prosperity, consistent with the enlightened policies of King Hassan II.

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MOROCCO

LEADER OF MOROCCAN JEWISH COMMUNITY SPEAKS AT CEREMONY

Casablanca MAROC SOIR in French 27 May 86 pp 1-2

[Speech by David Ammar, president of the Moroccan Jewish community: "We Proclaim Our Attachment to Morocco and to His Majesty Hassan II"]

[Text] We sincerely want peace in the Middle East and respect for the aspirations of each people to its own identity and self-determination.

David Ammar had previously spoken to emphasize that the Hilloula of Ben Ahmed reflects the tradition of the cult of saints, which is common to all Moroccans and is a symbol of a deeply rooted mystical convergence.

"This ceremony," he said, "confirms the link between the two religions revealed to us and allows us, once again, within the Ben Ahmed context, to proclaim our faith and emphasize the assertion of our Moroccan nature, beyond our fully accepted differences."

David Ammar recalled that the coexistence of Muslims and Jews has been strengthened in Morocco by tolerance and mutual respect and, "in a word, by the tradition of Moroccan civilization and the Alawite monarchy."

"This situation," he said, "developed thanks to the constant effort of the Alawite rulers and in particular, King Mohammed V and his loyal successor, King Hassan II."

"No pressure, no external event and no fanaticism," Ammar said, "have been able to divert our past sovereigns, or King Hassan II today, from the essential values which constitute Morocco's moral power and glory, despite the attacks upon our borders and all sorts of maneuvers directed against the vital interests of our country."

"This prestigious lesson of wisdom remains the mark of a great civilization, to which each one of us contributes, following His Majesty the King.

"The defense of the just cause of national unity has always been the motive element in our international actions, and it is thus that, in numerous cases, we have had the great satisfaction of welcoming very important foreign

political personalities whom we have helped to understand the components of Moroccan identity," he said.

"Our attachment to the virtues of tolerance and justice has made it our duty and strengthened us to remain very firm in defending our rights and protecting the national territory and the gains of our country," Ammar emphasized.

"National unity is not just a gift from God, but also reveals the continuity of a tolerant and just people proud of its history," he stressed.

Concerning the role of the Moroccan Jewish community abroad, Ammar noted the determination of all Moroccan Jews and people of Moroccan origin to defend and develop their traditions, culture and all that constitutes their original identity. "On this occasion, they all want to proclaim their attachment and strengthen their ties with Morocco, its king and people," Ammar said.

Pointing out that Moroccan Jews remain vigilant where the vital interests of Morocco are concerned, he said that they remain equally concerned about the Middle East, "which is so dear to the hearts of all Muslims and Jews."

David Ammar took this occasion to express his most profound wishes for peace and respect for the aspirations of each nation to its own identity and self-determination, in a fruitful and sincere way of life.

"We are convinced," David Ammar said, "that the Middle East will become once again a center of faith and love of others, as it was when our religions were revealed to us."

A solemn prayer was then recited in the sanctuary in memory of King Mohammed V and for the glory of King Hassan II.

The royal governor of Settat Province, provincial notables and numerous civilian and military personalities attended the ceremonies.

Let us recall that Rabbi Yahia Lakhdar was a missionary who came to Morocco toward the end of the 17th century.

He was sent from the Al Khalil Hebrew University with letters of credit to the Moroccan Jewish community.

Rabbi Yahia Lakhdar, who was a great Talmudic scholar, undertook the task of visiting all the villages where those sharing his religion lived, in order to offer them his teachings.

He settled in the Ben Ahmed Mellah, some 100 kilometers southeast of Casablanca, where he died and was buried.

The grave of this great saint, known to Muslims as "Moul Lhajra," has become a site to which Jews from all the Moroccan provinces make pilgrimages.

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MOROCCO

## PRACTICES OF LOCAL COUNCIL REPRESENTATIVES CONDEMNED

### Local Councils Considered Ineffective

Rabat AL-'ALAM in Arabic 12 May 86 p 1

[Commentary by A. Ghallab: "With the People"]

[Text] There hardly exists a municipal or village council which is following the straight and honest path prescribed for it by the constitution and law enacted when the collective councils were established in order to promote economic and social development for Morocco's cities and villages. There are incompatibilities rooted in these councils between those persons elected by the will of the people and those who have been selected and appointed [by the government], and there are also incompatibilities between the councils and the administration--that is, between the decision-making and the executive authorities. The administration interferes in everything that concerns the councils, even though its authority is that of a guardian or tutor rather than being that of a decision maker. These incompatibilities destroy the work being done by the councils and cause them to become ineffective organizations.

It used to be said that one cannot harvest grapes from thorns. Both the July 1983 and 1984 elections constituted nothing but thorns which were planted in every city and village in Morocco. The organizations which have been called municipal and village councils amount to a big pile of thorns which are unable to come forth with grain, grapes, edible herbs, and olives. What has come forth from them is neglect and fraudulent actions, and occasionally the smell of scandals has surfaced from them--which can result in having some of the appointed members of these bodies at least be arrested if not put in jail.

It was hoped that these councils would help the government undertake municipal and village services in order to economically, socially, and culturally develop its centers of influence. It was also hoped that they would participate in overseeing part of the educational system and building educational institutions as well as social and athletic organizations. In addition to this it was hoped that they would save Morocco's cities from chaos and would bring its villages out of their backwardness and give them



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civilization. Furthermore, it was hoped that, on the whole, they would constitute a government in miniature by means of which the population would learn to participate in the process of self-government. But the thorns that were planted during the elections have prevented these councils from doing their duty. The reason for this is that the persons in them who were elected [by the people] are a minority and have no power to make decisions, whereas the ones in the councils who have been selected and appointed are dependent upon the very authorities who appointed them. Such persons are not able to put forward proposals, but they are able to obstruct the proposals of others and to obstruct the decision-making process.

The councils are not productive, and thus they cannot perform their mission. The best approach for us Moroccan citizens is to consider ourselves without representation--in order that these foul practices not continue to be painful for us.

But they are nevertheless accountable to us.

#### Corrupt Council Appointees Assailed

Rabat AL-'ALAM in Arabic 16 May 86 p 1

[Commentary]

[Text] Some people in a city located on the Moroccan coastline are circulating rumors to the effect that the partial legislative elections which recently took place witnessed some abnormal developments which were designed to protect one person with parliamentary immunity, so that if he were confronted with [evidence that he had committed certain] practices which perhaps were not fully in conformity with the conditions, laws, and qualifications they were supposed to be in conformity with, he was protected by this immunity--which could possibly affect the course of events.

If these rumors are true, and if it was true that where there was smoke there was fire, then this means that the blows that are being dealt to democracy in this country are being dealt by a number of parties. What could be worse for democracy than to have it merely be considered to be a means for providing people with immunity in order that they not be held accountable for their behavior and actions or to allow some persons to utilize it as a means to cover up corruption which they might get involved in?

How are the people supposed to view a parliament and its esteemed representatives if the administration is able to intervene and impose the participation of certain individuals in this parliamentary body when they have been rejected by the citizens, fingers are being pointed at them, and everyone is waiting to see the results of investigations being made concerning them and what facts their cases have brought to light?

What respect can one have for an esteemed representative if the chair next to or in front of him is occupied by a person who might consider that the whole game is merely a matter of having immunity?

Yes, it can happen that this immunity is taken away when matters go beyond reasonable limits and things start smelling foul. However, before this happens democracy will have suffered such a relapse that democracy's credibility will be lost and people will start to view their parliamentary representatives in a light which is not worthy of persons who are supposed to represent our nation's citizens.

A rotten fish often spoils a whole sea, and the tragedy is even greater if the rotten fish gets lost among all the other fish such that the accusation can be levelled against all of them.

This is the situation that the administration has put itself into every time it has placed its bets on the rotten fish.

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MOROCCO

VALUE ADDED TAX CITED AS BAD FOR BUSINESS IN CASABLANCA

Rabat AL-'ALAM in Arabic 11 May 86 p 5

[Article by J. Maghribi: "Slump in Business Because of the Application of the Value Added Tax"]

[Text] The negative features of the value added tax plan, which has been opposed by the Istiqlal Party in the Chamber of Representatives, have shown up clearly in the economic and commercial life of the wilayah ever since this tax has been applied after being ratified by a majority [of the members of the Chamber of Representatives]. A large number of both wholesale and semi-wholesale merchants are refusing to purchase goods via invoices showing the added value and they are preferring to deal with the "bon" vouchers--that is, within the framework of procedures previously followed before April the 1st, the date which the new tax system was put into effect. This is not all. In addition to this, there has been a cessation of imports of numerous goods which the wilayah's markets have been in need of. This has caused a number of foreign business agents to come forward and inquire about the reasons why there has been no importing of the goods which their companies are producing. Most of these goods were raw materials which are processed in the wilayah's factories and plants. The result has been that some of these plants have ceased operations, and more workers are being let go and others are having to work less hours. These are features which are having dangerous effects on the living standard of working-class families.

The wholesalers and semi-wholesalers, during meetings held with them by the appropriate government offices, expressed their desire to postpone the putting into effect of the value added tax for a period of at least 2 years in order that they be able to learn to live with it and create the circumstances necessary for it to be put into effect. They suggested that the appropriate ministry, during this period of time, undertake intensive informational campaigns which would utilize all of the media in an effort to explain and clarify this tax and eliminate ambiguities concerning it. In meetings held by the Chamber of Commerce, officials have attempted to fix rates of profit, and this was done in an attempt to once more stimulate business in our nation's economic capital. However, the situation remains the same and people are waiting either for the government to retract its application of this tax or for the crisis to become worse. The negative

features of the tax are being felt by the underprivileged classes which are destined to pay the price of all experiments which turn out to be failures, and they pay this price with the sweat of their brow and the future of their children. All the attempts which have been undertaken by official committees to stimulate business and economic activity in Casablanca, with the method followed being the carrot-and-stick policy, have had no positive results. What this means is that the decision to create this tax and to put it into practice is a decision which urgently needs to be reviewed.

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MOROCCO

RIGHT TO WORK CITED AS CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHT

Rabat AL-'ALAM in Arabic 22 May 86 p 3

[Commentary by Tamim: "Work Is a Constitutional Right"]

[Text] "We are not asking for a passport. All we are asking for is work, bread, and the right to live."

This cry came in a letter to the newspaper which was signed by a group of unemployed persons, both young and old, who had become angry about their unemployment situation and the grief that it had caused them. They were groaning about the difficulties which they were facing when dealing with employment offices, and they were asking the authorities to take an interest in this downtrodden and underprivileged class of people. They were also demanding that a hard, decisive blow be dealt against the phenomena of favoritism and bribery, and that a policy be followed which would provide work opportunities for everyone.

The nightmare of unemployment, which is gnawing away at the fabric of our society, should be dealt with immediately. The situation has already become very critical. Our country, which aspires to achieve progress and prosperity, must provide its citizens with the means to live a decent life, and this begins with the right to work which is guaranteed by Section 13 of the constitution.

Work is a constitutional right. Therefore the government should guarantee work to all of our citizens in order that they contribute toward the building of the foundations necessary for overall development. The unemployment of university graduates in particular--including highly-qualified technical personnel--constitutes frank testimony to the fact that we are bankrupt in terms of the social options made available by an economic policy which is ill-suited to the requirements of real development.

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MOROCCO

BRIEFS

**JEWISH COMMUNITY DELEGATION--(MAP)--**A delegation from the Moroccan Jewish Community Council visited the Mohammed V Mausoleum in Rabat, in connection with the Ben Ahmed "Hilloula" (Settat Province), to pay respects at the tomb of the late King Mohammed V. David Amar, secretary general of the Moroccan Council of Jewish Communities, signed the visitors' book and made an entry rendering homage to the father of the nation, the late King Mohammed V, and his worthy successor, King Hassan II. [Text] [Casablanca MAROC SOIR in French 27 May 86 p 2] 5157

**MARITIME TRANSPORT LAW--**Last Wednesday the Parliamentary Commission for Maritime and Tourism Affairs held a meeting in the Chamber of Representatives, chaired by Rachid Lahlou and attended by Minister of Ocean Fisheries and Merchant Marine Bensalem Smili. The meeting was held to consider a maritime transport bill submitted by Deputy Karaba Mohamed of the Constitutional Union (UC). The purpose of this draft bill is to reserve a minimum of 50 percent of freight for Moroccan or Moroccan-leased ships used in maritime freight and passenger transportation. It also deals with matters of chartering and the organization of transportation-related professions. Following the discussion of the bill, it won the approval of the commission by a majority vote. [Text] [Casablanca MAROC SOIR in French 29 May 86 p 2] 5157

**BRAZILIAN JOURNALISTS--Agadir--(MAP)--**An important delegation of Brazilian journalists, representing a variety of Brazilian press organs, toured the southern provinces of the kingdom, visiting Marrakech, Agadir and Laayoune. This tour, which followed an invitation extended by the Moroccan National Tourist Office (ONMT) and Royal Air Maroc (RAM), is a part of a broad program designed to strengthen friendly relations between Morocco and the Latin American countries, in the area of information in particular. Within this context, a Brazilian television crew filmed a documentary on Morocco on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of King Hassan II's coronation. Another crew from Brazilian television's Channel 2 is expected in Morocco in the near future for the national festival of popular arts to be held in Marrakech. [Text] [Casablanca MAROC SOIR in French 27 May 86 p 1] 5157

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SUDAN

NEW FINANCE MINISTER INTERVIEWED ON 'EXHAUSTED ECONOMY'

Khartoum SAWT AL-UMMAH in Arabic 16 May 86 p 3

[Interview with Dr Bashir 'Umar, minister of finance: "These Are My Views About Our Exhausted Economy"; date and place not specified]

[Text] Since money and economics form the axis and basis of the problems and issues confronting the Third World in general and the Sudan in particular, the finance minister in the democratic regime is worthy of being introduced to the people. The new government will face a pile of complicated economic problems that require a supreme effort, an innovative mentality, solidarity in achievement and interweaving of efforts among the various facets of achievement charged with treating, developing and correcting the path of the Sudanese economy.

Following is a quick interview with Dr Bashir 'Umar, who was assigned by the prime minister the mission of confronting the aforementioned problems and difficulties.

[Question] How do you generally view our relationship with the International Bank and the IMF about whom the people reiterated before and after the uprising the well known adage that "We shall not be ruled by the International Bank." Will you allow it to rule the people (rule us)?

[Answer] The doctor who usually contemplates the question and the questioner before answering said: It seems that the Sudan has not completed its economic independence since it gained its political independence. Wrong economic policies were exercised by many of the regimes after independence along with some good economic initiatives on rare occasions.

This made the Sudan fall to a certain extent under the hegemony of world economic organizations including the IMF and the International Bank. (Dr Bashir laughed and said:) In order for the International Bank not to rule us as the popular maxim says we must realize economic independence and that begins by concentrating on the process of production and all the issues surrounding it. The relationship with the economic organizations such as the IMF and the International Bank is not necessarily that of follower and leader. The Sudan can arrange its domestic affairs through the rationalization of government expenditures and the optimal use of resources according to priorities as well

as the indication of seriousness in managing the national economy and presenting, on negotiating with the IMF, a Sudanese strategy supported by a study. Thus, work and dealing with the organizations will stem from a plan and not acceptance of ready-made recipes which are already rejected by any government that believes in the definite tie between political and economic independence.

[Question] What is the difference between the IMF and the International Bank [for Reconstruction and Development]?

[Answer] The International Bank gives loans for intermediate and long terms, while the IMF gives short term loans which are mostly used to support the balance of payments. This makes the International Bank relatively more preferable. However, dealing with either one is the same.

[Question] What about debts and lenders?

[Answer] We believe that if we are able to put our Sudanese house in order first, and show seriousness in managing the national economy, we shall be in a better position to deal with the lenders. For example, we shall be able to talk to them about waiving part of the debts, or postponing their repayment or requesting a long grace period of 2 or 4 years. All these and other economic alternatives are possible if we show on our part a level of earnestness that will regain for us the trust that we lost through the May economic policies, and emphasize our ability to deal externally.

[Question] Which economic school do you belong to? Do you believe in capitalism or socialism?

[Answer] I definitely believe in the pioneering and leadership role of a public sector which is free of the distortions of the May system and of the wrong and random applications in planning the projects, their implementation, or assigning those in charge of their management. We are for a public sector that generally leads the development process while giving the sector real attention that is clear cut, has limited roles, is open for give and take and achievement, is free within the framework of the laws and the national interests which are adhered to by national standards and frameworks, that observes certain considerations such as priorities in investment, the objects of investment, the regional distribution of investment, and the fairness in the distribution of that investment and special activities. Generally we believe in the positive participation of the private sector in development and in the stage of preparation of the executive plan and its management.

[Question] What about the banks with their various activities, nomenclature and nationalities.

[Answer] The financial sector is one of the most important development sectors. Financing has two sides: consumption and investment. According to the thesis that emphasizes production, all financing should be directed to investment



loans. As for the banks in general we have information proving otherwise. Therefore, and in short, the banking apparatus must be straightened out to assume this important role in pushing the development process forward.

[Question] What about the people's livelihood? Complaints about the high cost of living are increasing. The gap between people's incomes and their needs have widened.

[Answer] Livelihood, which forms the main problem that concerns the prime minister, and concerns us all, and moves the events around us, has the first priority and importance. To deal with it we look at it from three angles, namely:

--Supply of goods and services: We shall expend an urgent effort in this respect to increase the supply of necessary commodities and relieve the hardships of living. This effort has top priority and we started it on Thursday, i.e., at the moment of issuance of the charge to manage the Sudanese economy.

--Demand: We believe that part of it is parasitical and can be controlled to delimit it.

--Prices: If the two previous points are controlled, prices will decline to return to their normal level, which is related to purchasing power and productivity. There will be a serious study of the price situation, which means a study of the real costs of production and the cost of imports, including government taxes and profit margins. Afterwards there will be severe control over the prices of necessary commodities to limit the chaos that has flooded the market these days. These attempts will also include sweeping away the negative economic results of May.

12655/12795

CSO: 4504/334

TUNISIA

NEW SOCIAL MEASURES ANNOUNCED BY MZALI

Tunis LE TEMPS in French 2 May 86 pp 1, 4

[Excerpt] In the important speech he delivered yesterday while presiding over a large gathering of workers at the arena of the Bourguiba sports complex held in celebration of Labor Day, Mr Mohamed Mzali, prime minister, declared that the government is in the process of drawing up an integrated and balanced social and economic program to move the nation's economy ahead, to bring about the conditions for the continuation of social and economic development, to hasten the pace of that development and to meet the challenges imposed upon us from abroad.

In this connection, Mr Mzali announced that the supreme combatant, President Habib Bourguiba, has decided to undertake a series of social measures to improve the income of the of the middle- and the low-income groups and of needy families, in spite of repercussions from the world economic recession stemming from the fall of oil prices, the protectionist policies of certain wealthy countries, and the deterioration in the terms of trade.

The prime minister stated that these measures consist of the following:

1. An increase of 10 dinars per month in assistance payments to families with 4 dependent children, effective the first of the month. The increase will be constituted as follows:

--First child: 3 dinars

--Second child: 2.665 dinars

--Third child: 2.335 dinars

--Fourth child: 2 dinars

The increase will benefit some 350,000 families.

2. Improvement in the SMIG [Guaranteed Minimum Wage] and the SMAG [Guaranteed Agricultural Minimum Wage] as of this coming July 1.

3. Assistance to nearly 80,000 needy families within the framework of social security reform.

This assistance will total 8 million dinars in volume. Mr Mzali also noted that in the coming weeks, the government will announce a set of new economic measures and improvements designed to move the nation's economy forward and to counter the repercussions of the world economic recession.

12413/12948

CSO: 4519/117

15 July 1986

JORDAN

## EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT OF EVENTS AT YARMUK UNIVERSITY

Jerusalem AL-'AWDAH in English 25 May 86 pp 2-4

[Text]

*Jordan and Israel last week both took steps to prevent the body of Ibrahim Mohammad Hamdan Musallam from being brought across the River Jordan for burial in Kalandia refugee camp, where his family lives. Ibrahim was one of a number of students at Yarmouk University, in the north of Jordan, killed by Jordanian army and police forces two weeks ago during demonstrations in protest at certain aspects of Jordan's domestic and foreign policies. An official announcement from Amman said that three students died and eighteen policemen were injured in the incident; but a statement issued by the Secretariat-General of the National and Democratic Forces in Jordan estimated the number killed during the attack at 18 and those injured at 100.*

*AL AWDAH can confirm, however, that at least 23 people were killed, over 300 injured and some 2,500 have either been arrested or interrogated since the incident. In the following report, we highlight information offered by people recently returned to the Occupied Territories after separate visits to Jordan. The extent of the macabre stories attributed to eye-witnesses or other sources from Amman or Irbid, might well arouse doubt as to their credibility, but the imposition by the Jordanian authorities of a total news blackout and a ban on any journalist approaching the neighbourhood of Irbid or Yarmouk University, gives more than a hint, that the bulk of this information is correct. It is the duty of an impartial international body of enquiry to investigate the reported atrocities against thousands of Palestinian and Jordanian students by Bedouin Special Forces and obtain a full picture of what really happened at the Yarmouk University on the night of May 15th.*

Yarmouk University - the largest in Jordan, situated in the city of Irbid some 90 km north of Amman and with an annual student intake of 14,000 - has been the scene of political and academic dissatisfaction for some months now.

Unrest began with the announcement by the University administration in early March that tuition fees for students in the Engineering Department were to be increased from 90 to 105 JD. This led to a series of sit-in strikes and silent demonstrations by students from all faculties and culminated in the formation of a representative student body to negotiate with the administration. They met with a cool reception, however. University President, Dr Adnan Badran, refused to meet them or discuss the matter. The administration confiscated the identity cards of a number of students and instructed university guards to detain others. Students promptly stepped up their protests and began to prevent academic staff from entering lecture halls. This brought the entire University to a standstill.

On March 15th and 16th, after the appointed student representative body presented a number of democratically-reached academic demands, the administration agreed to retract their original decision and leave the tuition fees at 90 JD. They also returned the confiscated identity cards and released those students who had been detained. Thirty-two students however, were expelled from the University on the grounds that they had

broken University regulations when they took part in anti-American demonstrations in Amman to protest the US air raids on Libya in April. It is perhaps not fortuitous that this stand-down by the administration coincided with a conference in Amman of the Arab Parliamentary Union, and a time when the Jordanian government was eager to avoid any overt signs of political unrest.

Students were predictably angry at the expulsions, and campus dissatisfaction remained apparent. Following the US aggression on Libya in mid-April, two further days of student protests and demonstrations ended with further expulsions and a number of student detentions by the police, who had been called in to deal with the unrest.

The spiral of repression-unrest-repression continued until, on May 13th after continued demonstrations, one member of the University administration was hurt and admitted to hospital. An all-night sit-in strike was organized by students for the following evening and the University administration, having again failed to reach a compromise with the students, called in security forces to restore order, stipulating that they should enter the campus unarmed.

Police forces surrounded and besieged the University campus but refused to enter the premises without live ammunition. It was therefore decided to call in the 'Bedouin Special Force' - an elite unit staunchly loyal to the Hashemite throne

and used exclusively to clamp-down on anti-monarch or anti-government activities. Heavily-armed with batons, clubs, bayonets and tear gas, the 'Special Force' broke onto the campus. Firearms were not used, but 23 victims were clubbed to death and dozens of others were seriously injured.

The attack on the University by the 'Special Force' began on May 15th shortly after midnight. Students, unable to withstand the soldiers' onslaught, fled in all directions. Many who managed to break through the siege and seek shelter in the nearby mountainous area were pursued by army helicopters.

Girl students trying to reach the safety of their private rooms in the students' residence quarters, were the victims of outrageous attacks in which 25 at least - some of them wearing traditional Islamic dress and with their heads covered - were brutally raped.

"They (soldiers of the 'Special Force') tied the hair of one girl to the doorhandle and then slammed the door shut. As she fell to the floor one of the soldiers yelled 'You whore! Now we will teach you what it means to be anti-Hussein.' Three soldiers then raped her consecutively in full view of her room-mates," said a source recently returned from Amman. The source was quoting reports circulating throughout the Jordanian capital last weekend. He could not, of course, confirm the total accuracy of his information but concluded: "There is no smoke without fire." He spoke of plain-

clothes policemen swarming through the streets of Amman where he said that anyone heard uttering the words 'Irbid' or 'Yarmouk' was immediately taken for questioning.

The entire area of Irbid has now been sealed off and no journalists are allowed in.

Unconfirmed reports to *AL AWDAAH* say that some of the murdered girls had been mutilated and had their abdomens ripped open with bayonets. The Jordanian army is said to have hidden the corpses of some students and the bodies of only three of the victims were found next day, but it was impossible for the government to deny that killings had taken place.

Students who succeeded in escaping from the University say they witnessed the killings but could give no names. "We saw students being savagely beaten by soldiers, but it was too dark to identify the victims. We returned next morning to see what had happened to them but could find no trace of them. The victims seemed to have evaporated overnight. We checked with nearby hospitals but could get no information. We are afraid they must have been killed; or, if not, they must at least be in a critical condition. It would be difficult to survive such a loss of blood from the head," one student from Yarmouk was quoted as telling a Bethlehem resident on his return on Friday from a three-day visit to Amman.



In last week's nightmare in Yarmouk University, between 2,500 and 3,000 people were detained by police. Some have been sent directly to the recently-reopened desert prison of Jafer - formerly the main Jordanian prison for all anti-Hussein elements, where nationalist leaders were held in the 50's and 60's. Among those arrested were the entire Politburo of the banned Jordanian Communist Party, including its Secretary-General Fayek Warrad.

Some detainees were sent home after interrogation but the bulk of them remained behind the prison bars, including leaders of various political forces and groups in Jordan such as pro-PLO leaders, Ba'athists, Moslem Brotherhood activists and Nasserites (named after the late Egyptian President Jamal Abdul Nasser).

Events at Yarmouk University were only one spark in the anti-Hussein revolt. This time, Jordanians and Palestinians alike are involved in the fight against the King's regime. Two major Jordanian families, Al Russan and Al Tal, are said to be the main opponents of the regime in these latest event.

One girl student from Al Tal family who was clubbed on the head was admitted to hospital in a very serious condition suffering from concussion and possible brain injury. When the nightmare is over and news reaches the public, a new round of violence is expected. Bereaved relatives,

especially those in Jordanian families, will certainly take retaliatory action for the murder of their children.

In a communique issued on May 15th, the Jordanian Interior Ministry claimed that a group of 'terrorists' were behind the incidents at Yarmouk University. It named the three dead students as Maha Mohammad Qasem, Marwa Taher Sheikh and Ibrahim Mohammad Mahmoud Hamdan, and said that the deaths and injuries were caused by stones and bottles thrown by students during the course of a clash with police. The police, said the communique, had entered the campus, unarmed, at 1.20 am, at the request of the University administration, to quell demonstrations organized by a number of 'troublemakers'. It declared that Yarmouk University has recently witnessed considerable troubles and demonstrations instigated by unruly elements seeking to undermine order within the university and destroy its reputation. These elements have now been detained, said the communique, which concluded with the warning that there is no place for troublemakers at Yarmouk University and harsh measures will be taken in future against any individuals attempting to subvert state security or public order.

King Hussein's visit to Britain, just one day after US bombers raided Libya, was viewed in many Jordanian circles

as a 'negative response' to the American aggression. This, taken together with public reaction against Hussein's announced decision in February to sever coordination with the PLO and open dissatisfaction illustrated by a recent appeal to the government by number of prominent Jordanian trade union leaders, calling for a halt to the campaign of arrests, the release of all political detainees and an end to military courts, have revealed ripples of unrest that extend

beyond student circles into many sectors of Jordanian society. The underlying currents of popular feeling are making themselves felt.

Fifteen prominent West Bank personalities condemned the repression by the Jordanian authorities against the Jordanian and Palestinian people in general, and the brutal attack on Yarmouk university in particular.

[Photo caption]

Ibrahim Hamdan. His body was not allowed through the bridges. The reason, it is believed, is that the Jordanian government does not want to leave any access for people to know through autopsy how he was killed.

/9317

CSO: 4400/205

15 July 1986

PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

PLO OFFICIAL CLAIMS SECRET CONTACTS WITH SYRIA

Abu Dhabi AL-ITTIHAD AL-USBU'I in Arabic 8 May 86 p 11

[Interview with 'Abbas Zaki, Fatah's new foreign affairs official, by Basimah Nafadi: "Fatah's Foreign Relations Official Tells AL-ITTIHAD AL-USBU'I 'PLO Is Engaged in Secret Contacts with Syria; Positive Results Have Been Achieved in Meetings between the PLO and Damascus and Agreement Has Been Reached To Stop Media Campaigns; Relations between Jordan and the PLO Are Special; Neither Party Will Shut the Other One Out';" in Aden; date not specified]

[Text] When we met Mr 'Abbas Zaki in the PLO office in Aden, he was making preparations for his departure from Aden where he had worked for almost 12 years as the PLO's representative in the Democratic Republic of Yemen. Fatah had chosen 'Abbas Zaki to serve as its foreign relations official. Despite everything he had to do in preparation for his departure, Mr Zaki graciously consented to be interviewed by AKHBAR AL-KHALIJ and AL-ITTIHAD. In this interview the Palestinian official said that there would be a new Israeli attack on Syria, and he called upon the Arabs to prepare themselves for a fiery confrontation with the enemy.

The interview began with this question.

[Question] What is new regarding contacts with Syria? Is there a third party trying hard to make these contacts?

[Answer] There is no doubt that the importance of our relationship with Syria is always on our minds. We tried everything in that regard because we wanted to align ourselves with Syria in the same required national position. And because of continuing and intensifying attacks on the region, it was natural and inevitable that there be an eastern front consisting of the PLO, the Lebanese national forces and Syria. Our approach to the problem, therefore, has been based on conviction and principle. We will do our best to avoid negative factors so that we can coordinate activities or have a relationship that would help us in our common struggle with Syria.

Numerous contacts have been made through Palestinian and Syrian mediators, and we've listened to a great deal of advice and suggestions. A few hurried meetings were held, and we agreed on a set of measures, the most important of which was that of stopping the campaigns in the media. These campaigns are no longer being

launched. We also agreed to make arrangements for future meetings that would assume a more activist posture and would be public. We do not have a problem, nor do we have any preconditions regarding the relationship with Damascus. We hope these efforts will succeed, particularly since Syria is starting to realize that it can go nowhere without the Palestinians. We too need Syria's power.

[Question] Will Abu Iyad, [who is also known as] Salah Khalaf go to Damascus?

[Answer] If there are in fact revolutionary Syrians and Palestinians, the American raid on Libya would make such a meeting take place immediately and urgently. But if people are simply mouthing revolutionary slogans and not putting them into action, then I do not think that that visit will take place.

[Question] Do you think that matters between Jordan and the PLO have reached a stalemate after King Husayn's announcement that coordination with the PLO has been frozen? Do you think there is still a chance dialogue could be resumed?

[Answer] I believe that relations between the PLO and Jordan are special and distinguished and that neither King Husayn nor Abu 'Ammar can make judgments or have the final word on these relations. The success realized by any leader is commensurate with the extent to which he keeps himself in tune with the people's aspirations and wishes. The lives of the vast majority of Jordanians and Palestinians are inextricably linked, and no political regime can separate them from each other. That is why the door will remain open for stronger and closer relations between Jordanians and Palestinians even though the United States and Israel may block it. The idea of an alternative homeland is a threat to Jordan, and Israel has aspirations in Jordan. We will therefore defend Jordan so we can return to our country, so we can have the right to determine our destiny and establish a Palestinian state. We will not close doors; they will remain wide open to any dramatic changes in the Arab region.

[Question] To advance the Palestinian Revolution at the present time, do you believe it is important to conduct guerilla operations that would attract the media's attention? Or should the Palestinian Revolution concentrate on intensifying guerilla operations inside the occupied land?

[Answer] It is obvious that operations carried out by Palestinian guerillas abroad are greatly distorted. There is also a broad-scale news blackout on operations if they are carried out inside the country. Basically, we do not go after Jews or Americans outside Palestine. We want them to leave Palestine. Consequently, we oppose any operations that create an uproar in the media or, let's say, that are carried out outside our country's borders. But inside Palestine we are trying to turn stones into bombs. However, operations are carried out abroad as a result of the oppression and suppression of all national forces who can neither express themselves nor carry out operations inside the occupied land. As more oppression is practised against those people who have been dispersed and who cannot return to their country, we must expect that operations will be carried out abroad. Although such operations are described as illegitimate by some, they will become legitimate in the near future because Palestinians have to fight wherever they are until they can return to their country. We in the PLO and in Fatah oppose any operations that create an uproar in the media, but we support effective operations inside the country so we can sweep away this intrusive entity from Palestinian territory.

We have in fact concentrated recently on escalating military operations, and 1965 was our big year. Suffice it to say that Israel admitted to more than 620 operations during the first 9 months of the year.

Extensive operations were carried out during the period from September to December. Inside the occupied land we have been trying our best to affirm our political presence and exercise a policy of bloodshed. That is, we have been engaged in an armed struggle with the enemy who understands no other language than that of bullets. I hope that we will have more military operations because we suffered numerous sharp blows in 1965 as a result of the fact that land and sea routes were closed to us. So many fellow Palestinians lost their lives as they traveled by sea or crossed Arab borders on their way to Palestine! The Palestinian armed struggle must undergo a general awakening, and the borders must not be closed to Palestinian action. Those who did not participate in a single demonstration during the siege of Beirut which lasted 79 days are now starting to demonstrate for Libya. That, therefore, is an indication that the Arab masses are no longer silent about anything that happens in the region. We are confident that during the next stage actions inside the occupied land will be more intense, more focused and more violent. The goals of such actions will also hurt the enemy and will affect the political decisions he might make.

[Question] It's been said that operations inside the occupied land are being carried out by individuals who do not check with leaders before they act. It's also been said that that is why the enemy finds it difficult to contain or predict the occurrence of such operations. What do you think about that?

[Answer] That is true. We, the vanguard of the Palestinian Revolution, have a national following that is greater than the revolution. It is our people who guide and show us the way. They are the ones who give us daily lessons in real opposition to the Israeli enemy. This is the result of the pressure that is being applied to Palestinians who are suffering from the burden of additional taxes, from the theft of their water and from the confiscation of their lands. Students' curricula are also being changed; the number of students has been reduced; scholarships have been prohibited; and people are arbitrarily arrested. That is why the people started coming up with new ways to protect themselves. That is why they did not become involved in the political hypocrisy that we on the Arab and international scenes became involved in. The Palestinian people have been opposing an Israeli enemy who wants an Israel that extends from the Euphrates to the Nile. They carried out passive resistance operations, sit-ins and a few guerilla operations. The PLO may embrace those who lose their lives in action or who get captured. Their families are entitled to that because it is the individual members of this nation who carry out those operations in the occupied land. Palestinians carry out those operations because of their national convictions, their sense of affiliation with Palestine, and their confidence that their leaders can protect their families. That is why it is difficult for the enemy to understand these operations and to count them. That is why the enemy cannot determine whether these operations are carried out by us or by our people in the occupied land.

[Question] Some observers think that differences in the statements that are being made at the present time by the Palestinian Revolution's historical



leaders do not reflect conflicting directions as much as they reflect a distribution of roles. This distribution of roles has been the result of the Palestinian Revolution's current circumstances. What do you think about that?

[Answer] Not all the conflicting statements that are being made are the result of a distribution of roles. We do not want to distribute roles, and we wish we were in agreement. Fatah is not a political party; it is a national liberation organization. It is a broader framework in which all Palestinian and Arab revolutionary forces who believe in opposing imperialism and Zionism in the region can come together. Consequently, there is nothing far-fetched about every leader making statements that are based on his convictions without there being a distribution of roles. But our leaders show their wisdom when they decide that those who make such statements must not be written off. [At any rate], one finds common denominators which are compatible with a united Palestinian position. Therefore, we are well on our way to taking a series of measures and making broad changes in our course and direction. We will also make changes in cadres and personnel so we can guarantee for this movement greater harmony, more cohesiveness and more team work in all levels of action.

Fatah is not one organized party with one uniform ideology and body of thought. But Fatah is united by one thing: the homeland and the land. We are not people who subscribe to dogma or ideology, but we are patriots. It is, accordingly, easy for an ideologue to shift from the Ba'th Party to the PLO and to the communists. But it is not so with us: it is difficult for us to move away from the homeland's course to one that is outside the homeland. That is why as Ba'thists, communists and Muslim Brothers we've joined forces to fight this protracted people's war to restore the borders of Palestine. That is why Fatah is considered a broad regional framework for all Palestinian and Arab national revolutionaries who have been affiliated with Palestine and who bore arms in its defense. We are relying in a major way on coming and important stands in investigating our domestic situations. Throughout the past year and the early part of this year we have been engaged in ongoing preparations to convene the movement's fifth congress. (The congress has not been convened since June 1980.) We are completing for the first time documents and literature which differ from Fatah's documents of previous stages. We are getting closer to becoming a movement or a model party as far as organization is concerned. This is not extraordinary for a movement that has been involved in the broadest modes and forms of political conflict and armed struggle even though it has no land, it is not embraced by its fellow Arabs, and it is also being persecuted. Consequently, the next stage will be one in which our domestic conditions will be regulated and organized. Our organizational intentions will be strengthened so that we can limit these conflicts which take place at the expense of unity and collective leadership. I am quite confident that there will be quite a lot of changes.

[Question] Can you talk to us about these changes?

[Answer] When we talk about the general congress, it will be the congress that will determine those changes.

[Question] But one of the Palestinian leaders stated that successive events on the Arab and Palestinian scenes are delaying that congress.



[Answer] One of the most important obstacles to convening the conference is that there is no place to convene it. It is a fact that no Arab regime could host the PLO after Israel's raid on the PLO's offices in (Hamam al-Shatt) in Tunisia on the 1st of October 1985. We have not yet brought up this subject because we are afraid our request would be denied. Accordingly, after the United States announced that it would pursue us everywhere, people are really terrified of hosting us. However, now that we've been invited by President Chadli Bendjedid to meet in Algeria, I believe that the problem of having a place to meet has been solved. Therefore, when the National Council, the broadest organization for Palestinians, is invited to hold its meeting in Algeria, Fatah will definitely be invited, and its congress can be convened. The documents and the preparations are ready, and the congress can be convened.

[Question] Will Fatah's congress coincide with the meeting of the National Council?

[Answer] It would have to. Actually, Fatah, as a leading PLO political organization, should convene its congress before the National Council meeting so it can determine the policy of the PLO, which is the permanent organization. We hope that the general congress will be held before the meeting of the National Council. That is, we hope that Fatah's resolutions will be issued first so they can form the background and foundation of debate in the National Council. Thus, the power coming out of the National Council can be supported by the power of Fatah's resolutions without any deception or evasion of responsibility, which is the result of decisions being made in the absence of those with greater power. Conditions and matters inside the Palestinian scene would thus be straightened out, and everyone would be treated in a manner that manifests respect for Palestinian decisions and for any practical plans that follow from a meeting of the National Council. But this will not come about unless the debate within the National Council is completed on the basis of Fatah's resolutions. And Fatah's resolutions are not only those of its leaders, but also those of its larger cadres who are now manifesting themselves in the movement's fifth general congress.

We think that some changes are [in the offing] for action programs because many committees and functions, such as movement control and the membership and financial control committees, have been out of the picture. Many things appear to justify the actions that have been taken by a few, like Abu al-Za'im, who wish to abandon the course. It was Abu al-Za'im who brought to our attention the questions of cadres, congresses, accounting and control. Had these committees been functioning, he would not have been able to make a living.

[Question] What are the highlights of these changes that you've been talking about?

[Answer] We have been saying so far that it is the congress that will determine those changes. But there may be changes from an organizational standpoint. For example, will there be a central committee, a general bureau or a political bureau? There may be structural changes, but those will be determined by Fatah's congress.

[Question] Are there specific structural changes in the movement?

[Answer] Everything may be discussed at the movement's general congress except the movement's principles and basic strategic objectives. But all forms of the conflict may be changed because we must benefit from lessons of the past. We must distinguish ourselves and adjust to the nature of subsequent missions. Everything is subject to change.

[Question] After the fighters left Beirut in August and September of 1982 and were dispersed among eight Arab countries, some people believed that the Palestinian Revolution had become history. However, it has become evident that this revolution has regained its power, especially in south Lebanon. Can you shed light on that fact? Can you tell us about the fighters in south Yemen and about the conditions under which they have been living?

[Answer] The departure from Beirut was actually a stinging problem in the life of the Palestinian Revolution. President Reagan and Israel were proud of pulling it off. But neither Reagan nor Israel realized that the revolution had actually spread its message into more than one popular and official sector. The departure from Beirut could have created a more extensive and a more general awakening in the Arab world, had it not been for the back-pedaling of some Arabs. I personally believed that the departure from Beirut was an opportunity for evaluating the revolution on the Arab scene. It was an opportunity for beginning a general Arab encroachment that would affirm the Arabs' embracement of the revolution. At any rate, we awoke from that Arab shock a short time after that.

Regarding the fighters in Democratic Yemen, they were warmly received after their departure from Beirut. People greeted them with roses just as they had bid them farewell in Beirut with rice and roses. A celebration of their arrival was held in September 1982, and that celebration was more like that which was held in November 1967 to celebrate the independence of the Democratic Republic of Yemen.

Upon their arrival in Democratic Yemen the fighters felt that new tasks were awaiting them. When they arrived in Yemen, there were about 1,200 fighters. Now there is only a small number left. We did not let the fighters stay away from their basic duties. Thus, they underwent training and preparations, and they were then distributed to the different areas where they would be able to carry out their duties. Israel knows how many fighters reached occupied Palestine by sea, and how many of them were captured. Even the deputy commander of the forces in Democratic Yemen was captured. Many members of the forces have set their sights on Palestine despite all the difficulties.

In general, we are concentrating on the countries surrounding Israel. Therefore, a large number of our fighters went to Sudan, Jordan, Lebanon and Iraq. God willing, they will soon go to Syria. Their presence here in the Democratic Republic of Yemen will be merely to prepare them. They will not reside here.

[Question] Observers see in your appointment as Fatah's foreign relations officer a new direction for the organization aimed at developing foreign relations. How do you see your new mission, now that you've served the

Palestinian Revolution at your former position in the Democratic Republic of Yemen for over 10 years?

[Answer] I am a soldier chosen by my fellow Palestinians for this position. The first essential mission, as I see it, is that of achieving our Palestinian national unity. If something is achieved regarding the PLO and its organizations, the feuding factions will have to find a common ground so they can actually stand alongside our people in the occupied homeland. In their opposition to the Israeli enemy our people have set the most splendid example of national unity.

Regarding my appointment to my new position, let me say that appointments are not new to our movement. The aim of that appointment is to provide the impetus for a strong move by fellow Palestinians in the Central Committee on the foreign relations department. This is based on the need to have a specialist and an executive official for that department. I hope that I will be up to that responsibility so that we can reflect the aspirations and hopes of fellow Palestinians as we move forward with broad strides.

[Question] It is being said that a large number of people who had joined Abu Musa's dissident movement in 1983 have left Damascus and abandoned Abu Musa. Is that true?

[Answer] This was true from the first moments. Actually, a group that dissents with a revolutionary movement has to set forth issues and proclaim slogans that go beyond those of the original movement. When Abu Musa left the organization, he had great hopes that he and his followers would realize a miracle: they would get rid of all mistakes and become model leaders in the Arab homeland. If we look at what happened, however, we find that they stumbled, one after the other. Where is Abu Salih? Where is Qadri? Where are the rest? Had they achieved something concrete, they would have at least had an easy conscience. But they are in torment. They are suffering, and they are inflicting pain on Lebanon and on Syria. In the meantime the PLO continues to confront conspiracies, and it continues to adhere to its principles and objectives.

A large number of those people have crossed the Jordanian borders and returned to the movement. Those people have gone to Tunisia where they are now prominent leaders in the movement like 'Umar Abu Laylah, Kamal al-Shaykh and Ribhi 'Awad. Those men are military leaders. A large number of them has in fact returned to the organization. Another group has joined Abu Nidal, and yet another group has joined a faction, but I do not know which faction it is. People did in fact break up their association with Abu Musa.

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CSO: 4404/351

15 July 1986

PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

ABU AL-ZA'IM DESCRIBES 'CORRECTIVE MOVEMENT'

Abu Dhabi AL-ITTIHAD in Arabic 14 Apr 86 p 14

[Interview with Abu al-Za'im by Huda Tawfiq: "My Movement Is Independent; It Is not a Client of Jordan; Why Shouldn't We Give Residents of the West Bank and King Husayn an Opportunity To Negotiate? 800 Military Men Support the Corrective Movement I Lead"; telephone interview conducted in Amman; date not specified]

[Text] What is happening inside the PLO? What does Abu al-Za'im's movement represent? Does it represent a new split in the PLO? Why now, and why in Jordan? Why did Abu al-Za'im decline to meet with 'Arafat in Cairo and in Baghdad? What are the implications of the new crisis?

It is certain that when Yasir 'Arafat was in Cairo on his most recent visit to that city, he asked Abu al-Za'im to come to Cairo and meet him there. But Abu al-Za'im refused to leave Amman. When the crisis was revealed on the pages of newspapers, 'Arafat tried for the second time to meet with Abu al-Za'im. He invited him to come to Baghdad, but Abu al-Za'im declined to go.

AL-ITTIHAD tried to find out what the facts were in the course of a telephone conversation with Abu al-Za'im in Amman.

Abu al-Za'im said, "The attempt to portray our movement as a dissident movement is not accurate. There is no dissent and there will be no dissent in the PLO. The military men who have been protecting this odyssey for 20 years have to be the only ones with the greatest concern for the people and the cause. They have the greatest concern for the PLO as the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and they want to protect the Fatah Movement as the leader of the struggle."

As he spoke, Abu al-Za'im revealed that the corrective movement which he leads had so far attracted 800 PLO officers and a large number of fighters. Abu al-Za'im said those people supported his positions, but they did not wish to dissent with the PLO. They are rather calling for reform. He said, "If we do not resolve these matters with the leaders, these matters will speak for themselves."

[Question] What will you do if there is no agreement, if you are not advocating dissent with the PLO?



[Answer] I am not threatening anyone. I do what I do because I am a fighter and because of what citizens suffer. The fact that the movement has numerous supporters, chief among whom is a large number of senior officers and officials, does not mean there is dissent. We still believe in internal dialogue as the basis for settling disputes.

Abu al-Za'im explained why he turned down the mediation effort that was carried out by 'Arafat's envoys. He said, "I have no quarrel with 'Arafat. This is an internal dispute that involves the entire movement. It has to do with the political position and with regulatory procedures. The problem cannot be solved by two people holding a meeting; it has to be solved in a general congress. It is in such a general framework that we can agree on a course of action and elect our leaders who would continue the journey. A congress has not been convened in 5 years despite serious political changes that have occurred since our departure from Lebanon."

Abu al-Za'im said, "The leaders we have now do not want to convene a general congress for the Fatah Movement because they do not want to turn in their resignations. I believe that that is the only reason."

In his conversation [with us] Abu al-Za'im accused the leaders of wanting to prolong the dictatorship. He also denied any relationship between the movement he heads and any Arab country. He said, "So far, we have not had any relationship with any Arab country. We are not an independent movement; we are part of Fatah, and it is Fatah that establishes such relationships in the first place. We have not declared our movement an independent movement, and we do not yet have any outreach in the Arab countries. Nor do we want to have any such outreach if we achieve a satisfactory solution."

Abu al-Za'im denied that Jordan was behind the movement. He said, "I wish there were a Palestinian piece of land on Mars! I could stand on that land as an independent man and speak my mind. But if I say something from Jordan, people say I am a client of the Jordanian regime!"

The question that Abu al-Za'im asked and then answered himself was this: Why now and why from Jordan? He said, "We have now come to a serious crossroads in our efforts to achieve peace. We say what we say from Jordan because two thirds of the Palestinian people live on both banks of the Jordan River, and we have to do something."

He added, "There is more than one political solution. We have to hold a referendum and ask the people what that solution ought to be. A group of people should not monopolize the decision regarding that solution."

Abu al-Za'im said that he approved of an international conference provided that there be real peace.

[Question] But do you approve of recognizing Resolution 242?"

[Answer] I do not wish to go into the details of 242. I am not trying to be evasive, but I do not wish to force my opinion on others. I was not the one who signed the Jordanian-Palestinian agreement; I was not the one who negotiated for a whole year; and I was not the one who broke negotiations. We have to take matters seriously, and we have to have credibility.

Abu al-Za'im said that his own personal point of view did not represent that of the movement he heads. That point of view calls for a dialogue between the residents of the occupied land and the Arab governments who are responsible for the loss of that land. Concessions over that land should not be made, and the PLO should continue to adhere to its charter. "If the land is regained, we will have it back, but if it is not regained, then we will have lost nothing."

He said that negotiations in Jordan were about to succeed. "Had these negotiations succeeded, we would have applauded their success."

He said, "Why don't we give West Bank residents and King Husayn an opportunity to negotiate? I support negotiations, but I do not support autonomy in Gaza or the West Bank." Abu al-Za'im denied that he had contacts with Damascus or with PLO dissidents.

[Question] But what are the movement's demands?

[Answer] We will set forth a political course for our general policy in the next stage. We will also put an end to [what he called] "excesses." The problem between us and Fatah's leaders started with our departure from Lebanon. Extremely serious circumstances developed, and these were aimed at the entire course. We were scattered in no less than 10 different camps which lacked all the requirements of a military life. These camps were more like places of exile and detention camps. Since 1983 Fatah has also been exposed to division, and many leaders in Fatah's Central Committee, in the Revolutionary Council, in the Military Council and in the General Congress of the Fatah Movement were removed from office, and the fate of other members of the Revolutionary Council remains unknown.

This does not mean that our movement is or is not adopting their positions. This is an organizational problem, and a general congress must be convened to discuss whether or not removing those people from office was legal.

Abu al-Za'im revealed that he has been calling for a general congress of Fatah to be convened since 1983 and that that congress has not been convened yet. Fatah's general congress has not been convened since the division and dissent occurred "even though we have been exposed to grave political positions." He said, "The Jordanian-Palestinian agreement, the year-long negotiations and then the suspension of these negotiations were matters that should have been presented to Fatah's general congress so that this crucial subject could be discussed."

Abu al-Za'im also spoke about what he called "strident excesses within the movement in political, military, financial and organizational areas." He said,



"There are few in leadership positions who manage affairs undemocratically. They force their positions on the movement and on the organization because of Fatah's clout within the PLO.

"That is why," Abu al-Za'im continued, "we have been calling for the congress to be convened. We've been making that appeal for 4 years but to no avail. There are many issues we wanted to articulate, and that is why we took the action we took with our movement. We did not intend to issue any statement, nor did we intend to use the media until all hope that our fellow Palestinians would convene the congress was lost. But Salah Khalaf's rash reaction to our action distorted our position."

Abu al-Za'im is accusing Salah Khalaf of doing that to apply pressure to 'Arafat.

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SAUDI ARABIA

AGRICULTURE MINISTER INTERVIEWED ON KINGDOM'S PROGRESS

Jeddah ARAB NEWS in English 28 May 86 p 9

[Article by Dr Walid Arab Hashem]

[Text]

**JEDDAH** — Many doubted the Kingdom's ability and determination to implement its ambitious goals for the agricultural sector and attain self-sufficiency in the production of many basic food items. After all, the Kingdom was mainly a desert, and perceived so by almost all outsiders. How can it reach self-sufficiency in food production, a goal that many other countries with better agricultural climates have failed to achieve? And, even if it could produce these goods, why should it? It would be much better and cheaper to import its agricultural needs.

And so was the advice of many "experts." After all the Kingdom had scarce water resources and unfertile land, and it lacked experience in the field. It should then continue to import its agricultural needs and leave its production to someone else.

However, this "advice" was quite understandable when we note that it came from major agricultural producers who would have preferred to keep the Saudi market open to their products. Fortunately, the Kingdom was not deterred, and went ahead with its development policies, including the development of the agricultural sector. And now, as we look back, we see that these policies have paid handsome returns. Self-sufficiency in several of our basic food requirements became a reality, and we are now even exporting these products to several countries, including those who doubted the Kingdom's ability to do so. The Kingdom's agricultural success story was crowned before all to see, with the Food and Agriculture Organization award given last year for Saudi Arabia's record wheat output.

At the helm of the Saudi agricultural policy and its implementation was Minister of Agriculture Dr. Abdul Rahman ibn Abdul Aziz Al Sheikh. He occupied this post in 1975, and was thus directly responsible for supervising the Kingdom's agricultural boom of the last decade. So he becomes the most natural person to explain the story behind the success on the farm front and answer the criticisms that it faced.

**Q. Minister Abdul Rahman Al Sheikh, we can see that you specialized in agricultural development and economics. Could you first explain to us what is it that attracted you to this field?**

**A.** Agriculture, in my opinion, reflects the true meaning of citizenship, because it means the love of land and an attachment to it. For this very reason I have loved agriculture and I still do.

**Q. Could you give us a historical overview of agriculture in the Kingdom?**

**A.** First; there was the traditional or conventional agriculture. In the old times agriculture in the Kingdom did not exceed small farms owned by more than one person in oases and wadi (valley) beds scattered across distant areas. These small agricultural plots depended on rains, and underground water which could be drawn out by primitive means. Plowing, fertilization and harvesting were done by hand, making them time-consuming and tiring. Thus, local foodstuff production was quite limited and most of our needs were imported.

Then, we had the second phase which began by 1975 and concentrated on building the basic infrastructure for agricultural development. The emphasis on infrastructure

was part of an overall general development plan for the Kingdom. However, there was a special emphasis on the agriculture sector so as to diversify the Kingdom's economic base and develop new sources of revenues so as to lessen dependence on non-renewable sources such as oil.

During this period, the ministry made extensive studies which showed the existence of abundant water resources and large arable lands; the studies also showed the feasibility of agricultural projects. Thus, more than 199 dams were constructed in various parts of the Kingdom and several desalination plants were opened. At the same time, large plots of arable land were distributed among various members of the population and new agricultural firms.

The ministry also established research centers and training institutes and provided interest-free loans and subsidies that reached 45 to 50 percent of the costs of some machinery. Moreover, it offered high prices for several produce, such as wheat and dates.

Then came the payoff, or the third phase of vast development and self-sufficiency in the production of many of our basic food products. This rapid growth in output was a direct result of the subsidies and incentives provided by the government. Owing to this support, the populace responded in an overwhelming way and the traditional method of agriculture was transformed with amazing results. The most advanced technology was imported and used in the various stages of agricultural production — from irrigation and water drilling to harvesting and packaging.

Also, the private sector was encouraged to participate and invest in agriculture, and this they did. And soon we saw large agricultural companies, including such giants as

- (1) The National Agricultural Development Company,
- (2) Hail Agricultural Development Company,
- (3) Tabuk Agricultural Company,
- (4) Qasim Agricultural Company,
- (5) The Saudi Agricultural Development Company,
- (6) The Eastern Agricultural Development Company, and
- (7) The Saudi Fisheries Company.

During the third phase, the area of land under cultivation expanded from 150,000 hectares in 1975 to 2.3 million hectares in 1985, with vast expansion in the production of basic food commodities such as wheat, dairy products, dates, vegetables and fruits. We are now producing enough quantities of wheat, dates, milk, chicken, fish and veget-

ables, and are exporting some of these items to sisterly and friendly countries. In the third phase of our agricultural development we have sought and achieved food security which is the milestone for political, economic and social security.

**Q.** During this period of developing the Kingdom's agricultural resources, you faced several criticisms, especially from foreign experts and countries exporting agricultural products. Would you give us an idea about these criticisms?

**A.** Actually, we faced various sorts of criticisms from inside as well as from outside the Kingdom. Some were made in goodwill, but others were meant to discourage us and cast doubts about our abilities. This latter type of criticism came from countries which were displeased to see the Kingdom setting a good example for Third World countries in the realm of food production and food security. They used to say that the Kingdom is a desert country lacking in the basic requirements of agriculture and that it has no sufficient water; its soil is not suitable and so there is no economic feasibility for agricultural development. Therefore, they suggested, the Kingdom should import its food needs.

But Saudi Arabia, under the wise leadership of King Fahd and Crown Prince Abdullah, did not heed these criticisms and was determined to go ahead with its ambitious plans for agricultural development until it was able to achieve self-sufficiency and export many food items. However, I would like to state here that we did study the counterarguments and tried to benefit from the useful criticisms and observations.

**Q.** Perhaps among the most convincing of the attacks against the Kingdom's agricultural policy was the one that centered on cost. Certainly it would have been cheaper to import than to produce some of our agricultural products. Why then do we pay such high incentive prices for them?

**A.** We realize that the incentive price of 3.5 riyals for wheat decided by the government, and which was later reduced to two riyals, was not the actual price for wheat, which is less than that. But the incentive price we offered paid for many more things besides wheat production; it included the costs for land reclamation, construction of new facilities, training of farmers, and for the introduction of modern means of agriculture in place of the traditional ones. The incentive price we paid to farmers is actually a reinvestment of our income in the expansion of the agriculture sector and it is an improvement of the standards of living in rural areas.

This is the reason for paying the incentive price for wheat, and it is generally the reason for offering agricultural subsidies. They serve a national goal based on solid economic and social bases.

There were those who did not want the Kingdom to choose this road to promote itself and develop its resources and abilities. They did not want to see a developing country like Saudi Arabia pulling itself out of the quagmire of backwardness and achieving progress and prosperity. They know that agriculture is the key to a sound economy, so they were very keen to hide this truth from us. They are now equally keen to hide this fact from other developing countries in order that they may remain for a long time under the shadow of backwardness, be their political puppets, and live on their leftovers. They want them ever to be chained to the economic fetters of humiliating loans, so that they will finally lose their dignity or the most valuable asset of any society.

**Q. Could you give us an idea of the most important achievements.**

A. It is not possible in this limited space to enumerate all the achievements, but I can give some instances. For example, in wheat production we have been able to attain record standards of between four and nine tons per hectare. These outputs will enable the Kingdom to produce more than two million tons in 1986, whereas in 1975 wheat production did not exceed 3,000 tons.

The present yield of about two million tons is more than sufficient to meet local needs, and so part of the output is exported to several countries, including the United Arab Emirates, Qatar and Indonesia. At present, about 80,000 tons are being shipped to a number of Asian and European countries. This is in addition to other quantities earlier donated to combat famine and other problems in Africa and Asia.

Another success story is in date production. In 1975 the Kingdom's total output did not exceed 200,000 tons, but this year it has more than doubled to 500,000 tons. The Kingdom now exports dates to some neighboring countries and also donates large quantities to the World Food Program. The Kingdom is also now self-sufficient in several vegetable products and is exporting the surplus.

In 1975, dairy production in the Kingdom met less than five percent of local needs, but now it has almost achieved self-sufficiency and is actually exporting some dairy products to sisterly neighboring countries. Similarly, the Kingdom's production of eggs and broiler chickens 10 years ago fell short of supply, but today Saudi Arabia is exporting poultry products.

The government gave special attention to the development of the vast fish wealth available in this country, and directly participated in the establishment of a Saudi fishing company to exploit this wealth. Within a short time of its establishment, the Saudi fishing company had its own fleet and was supplying fish to the local market and exporting to a number of countries, including Jordan and the United States.

**Q. Was this success limited to one area or region of the Kingdom?**

A. There was a general development of agriculture throughout the Kingdom, but of course there are some regions that are more suitable to this sort of development and they benefited more. They provide better environment and resources for the success of agricultural development. As you know, Saudi Arabia is quite large, occupying about 2.25 million square kilometers of land with varying resources and environments. Thus our agricultural policy was to promote such development where it fits best, or in other words we developed our agricultural resources wherever it was possible.

**Q. What about employment opportunities in the agricultural sector, and the ability of this sector to use Saudi labor?**

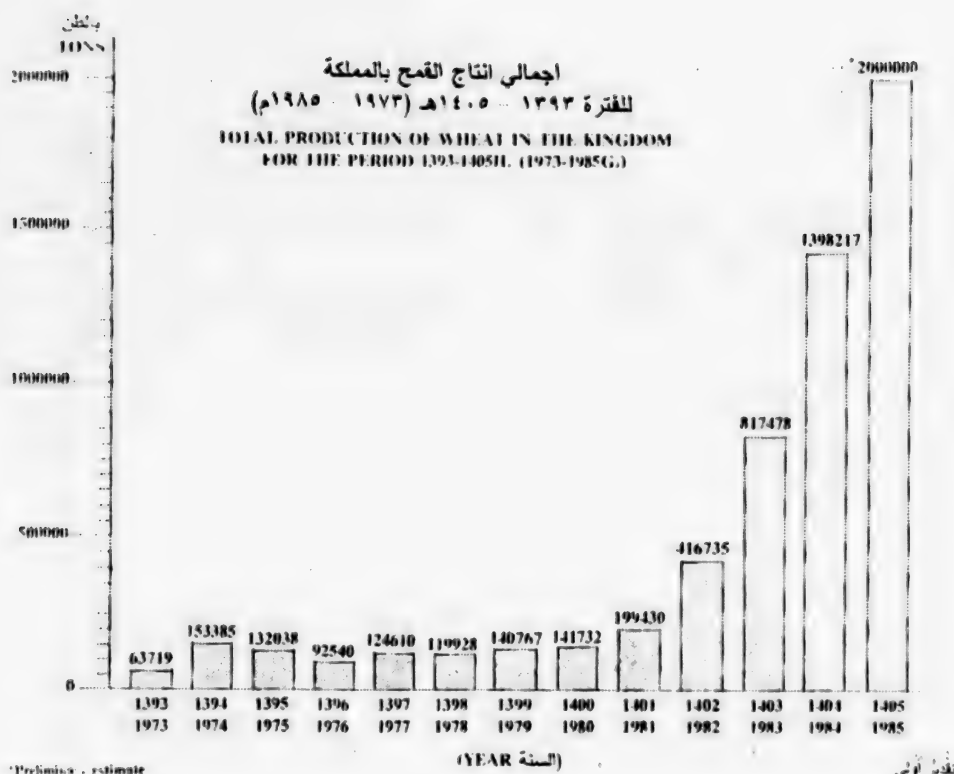
A. After the modernization of the agriculture sector and the use of advanced machinery and technologies, we were in need of a special type of skilled labor — those trained and skilled in the use of machines and acquainted with modern technologies. For this, the ministry has set up centers to train Saudis in these fields and is training traditional farmers to use modern methods. Also, Saudis are placed in leadership at top managerial levels and are given charge of agricultural projects.

**Q. What exactly is the water situation? Do we have sufficient supplies to support our agricultural development?**

A. Our surveys have indicated that the Kingdom holds vast reservoirs of usable water deposits. These deposits are sufficient to maintain our agricultural development. Moreover, we have drilled thousands of wells so as to continually check these reservoirs and supervise the consumption rates.

Water levels are periodically monitored and the ministry regulates its use by farmers through the use of incentives and introduction of water-efficient technologies, such as the drip irrigation system and others. The ministry also regularly maintains and services the existing irrigation systems and constructs dams and other water reservoirs. Also, there are many recycling centers to use such water for irrigation purposes.

As for drinking water, this demand is sufficiently met by our desalination plants



and by the underground reserves which are used after some purification treatment.

**Q. Do you think that our agriculture could stand without government subsidies and support?**

**A.** Our agricultural support policies have achieved their designed goals, and they are responsible for the agricultural development we now witness in the Kingdom. This happened after the basic infrastructure was built and after agricultural firms and farmers were induced to use modern technologies and given the facilities and support to use them.

Now, they have mastered these techniques and used them to reach our present rate of output and success. They have accumulated the experience and know-how, so it is only natural that they should reach a point where they can depend on their own resources after their production costs have been reduced.

Government support will continue, but for each phase of our agricultural development there is a different type of support.

**Q. What are your future plans for expansion in different agricultural products or new regions of the Kingdom?**

**A.** This is what is happening now. Expansion and diversification have been our policy from the start, as evidenced by the realization of self-sufficiency not only in wheat but also in dairy products, vegetables, dates, fish and meat.

**Q. What is your evaluation of the role played by the farmers, investors and businessmen in the Kingdom's agricultural development?**

**A.** Our agricultural development is based on a clear-cut philosophy in which we rely on the promotion of our resources. The government outlines the broad policy, determines the objectives and provides vast support and guidance. But it is the private sector which undertakes actual production in all its stages, with no interference or crowding out by the government at any stage. The government does not interfere in issues of production or the private affairs of individual farmers or companies.

Thus, it was the private sector which used government incentives and support to achieve the great success we see in agricultural development.



**Q. Do you advocate expansion in industries related to agriculture?**

**A.** The ministry has always encouraged the establishment of industries relating to agriculture such as the food industry. I believe that this is in the interests of both producer and consumer. And we can now see the agricultural sector entering this phase of establishing related industries. And we can also see that it has the confidence and determination to achieve success.

**Q. What opportunities do you see for private investment in such areas?**

**A.** There are many opportunities for private investment in agriculture, and the success of the private sector in both animal and plant production is a good evidence of

this. Such investments have yielded ample returns. Meanwhile, the ministry has laid down rules and regulations for the establishment of agricultural projects to protect the interests of both investors and consumers.

**Q. How can the picture of the Kingdom as a desert country be changed? What is the role of propaganda and information media in this?**

**A.** By the grace of Allah the miracle has been achieved and the Kingdom has changed from an arid desert to a green oasis. The certificate given to the Kingdom by the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) is a living proof of this success. The Kingdom's experience as well as its success story is there for all to see and judge for themselves.

### Man of Varied Experience

Minister of Agriculture and Water Dr. Abdul Rahman ibn Abdul Aziz Al-Sheikh was born in Makkah on June 2, 1942. After completing his primary and secondary education in the Kingdom, he left for the United States where he graduated from the University of Texas in 1965 and received his master's degree in agricultural economics from Pennsylvania University in 1967. Then he left for the United Kingdom, where he received a doctorate in economics from the University of Edinburgh in 1971.

Upon his return to the Kingdom, Dr. Al-Sheikh worked as assistant professor in King Saud University and was dean of its college of agriculture from 1971 till 1974. In 1974, Dr. Al-Sheikh moved to the Eastern Province as rector of the new King Faisal University, and

there he stayed until he was appointed minister of agriculture and water in 1975.

During this period, Dr. Al-Sheikh also served as consultant to the Ministry of Agriculture and Water and the national research center and was also a member of the board of directors of the agricultural bank.

After his appointment to the ministerial post in 1975, Dr. Al-Sheikh was also appointed to head some of the most important agricultural firms and organizations in the Kingdom, including the grains and silos agency, the desalination agency, the National Agricultural Development Company, and the Saudi Fisheries Company. And he was also appointed to the board of trustees for four of the country's universities, as well as to the supreme council of universities.

Minister Al-Sheikh is also author of several research papers and lectures on development, in particular on agricultural development.

He is also a family man, with two daughters and five sons.

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SYRIA

OIL MINISTER INTERVIEWED ON EXPLORATION PLANS

Abu Dhabi AL-ITTIHAD in Arabic 7 Apr 86 p 15

[Interview with Dr Ghazi al-Durubi, minister of oil by 'Assaf 'Abbud: "Syria's Oil Minister Tells AL-ITTIHAD New Oil Discoveries in Syria Strengthen Development Projects and Provide Hard Currency"; in Damascus; date not provided]

[Text] "We take from Iran the oil we need at prices that are below market prices."

"Division in OPEC is a loss for oil producing countries."

"We are using the Iraqi oil pipeline in a limited way."

Recent oil discoveries in Syria were the subject of the conversation in AL-ITTIHAD's second interview with Dr Ghazi al-Durubi, Syria's minister of oil. These discoveries were mentioned in President Hafiz al-Asad's address to the People's Assembly. This was the address in which President al-Asad set forth to that body the economic condition in Syria.

In this interview Syria's oil minister shed some light on the role foreign companies played in oil exploration operations in Syria. He also shed some light on the oil trade between Syria and Iran and on Syria's attitude toward recent developments in the oil market.

The text of the interview follows:

[Question] Can you give us information about the recent oil discoveries in Syria?

[Answer] Some gas and oil bearing formations have been discovered in Dayr al-Zawr and al-Hasakah as a result of the major efforts that were made by our ministry and by some foreign service firms which are under contract to conduct oil exploration operations in different parts of the country.

The (al-Taym) oil field was discovered south of Dayr al-Zawr, and light crude oil was found in its formations. This discovered oil is characterized by its low sulphur content--not more than one percent. Oil has been discovered in (al-Ratbah) formation after the third well, which is almost 3,000 meters deep,

was dug. Another oil producing well in that field is now being dug, and it is expected that commercial production will begin during the last quarter of this year. It is expected that daily production will be approximately 50,000 barrels. The first oil to be drilled out of this field has been transported on the pipeline of the Syrian Company for Transporting Oil, and it is being refined at the Homs refinery.

[Question] What are the activities in which the Syrian Oil Company is engaged, and what role do foreign companies play in exploration operations?

[Answer] The Syrian Oil Company utilizes its native staff and carries out all oil and gas exploration operations in the country. It has been able to discover some oil and gas bearing formations in the fields of al-Hawl, al-Isharah and in other fields as well. We expect to find oil in the (al-Ratbah) layer, which corresponds to the layer in (al-Taym) field. Other tests are being conducted in the Eurphrates region on the oil bearing al-Ward formation. We hope to obtain a large oil and gas reserve as a result of the discovery of such formations. As far as gas is concerned, some gas bearing formations have recently been discovered, and gas in commercial quantities has been discovered in the al-Sha'ir and al-Sharifah formations.

Foreign companies are involved exclusively in exploration operations which they carry out at their own risk in a limited area. If a foreign company makes a discovery, it receives its fees and profits but it does not receive a portion of production. If, however, it takes the oil it produces, then we are given preference in purchasing the oil. But if no oil is discovered, Syria incurs no losses.

[Question] What has been the effect of the recent discoveries on Syria's economic balance?

[Answer] These discoveries will save the country large amounts of hard currency which we would have used to purchase the goods we need for local consumption. In return, increasing our oil production will contribute significantly to strengthening the country's development projects and, consequently, to increasing national revenues.

[Question] In light of Syria's increased oil production, is any thought being given to the idea of building a third refinery besides those in Banyas and Homs, or are these two refineries meeting our needs?

[Answer] The Technical Studies and Consultation Company is currently engaged in a study whose aim is to improve the economics of the refineries' refining process. These refineries are being operated in accordance with a certain technological course. The aim of this study is to find out how possible it is to increase the refineries' efficiency. The study, which also covers those oil derivatives that will be needed in the future, seeks to determine which is more feasible: expanding the refineries or building a new one. This study will determine the possibility of building a third refinery in a manner that would be compatible with changing consumption and increased demand for oil and oil derivatives.

The expansion which has been carried out at the Homs refinery is the sixth such expansion. It will not increase the refinery's production capacity, which is approximately 5.2 million tons annually. This expansion was more of an improvement than an expansion since it will increase gasoline production by 500,000 tons annually, along with the power generating station.

[Question] Now that Iraqi oil is no longer being pumped through the Iraqi oil pipeline, which runs through Syrian territory, is Syria using this pipeline, and if it is using it, how is it using it?

[Answer] At the present time only part of the Iraqi oil pipeline is being used to transport the oil that is produced from the (al-Taym) oil field, south of Dayr al-Zawr, to the Homs refinery. This oil, which is being produced on an experimental basis, is transported through the gas pipeline which runs between the fields of al-Jabsah and al-Mahattah al-Thalithah [the Third Station], or through that which runs from al-Mahattah al-Thalithah, east of Homs on the Iraqi oil pipeline, to Homs. There are two projects: the first one involves the completion of gas exploration operations and the construction of ground facilities; and the second involves construction of a plant for processing this gas and transporting it to the ammonia urea plant in Homs where it can be used as fuel instead of oil to manufacture ammonia urea. A plant is being built for that purpose, and construction of that plant will be completed in 2 months. This plant is being built for processing and transporting gas exclusively from the al-Jabsah fields. When regular commercial production begins in the tenth month of 1986, we will use part of the Iraqi oil pipeline to transport Syrian crude oil to Syrian refineries.

[Question] What is Syria's relationship with Iran with regard to the oil trade?

[Answer] As far as Iranian oil is concerned, Syria signed a long-term agreement with Iran in 1982 which allows Syria to import from Iran all the light oil it needs. This is because the oil which is produced in Syria is heavy oil, and Syrian refineries need both kinds of oil. We export our surplus of heavy oil, and we import the light oil we need to operate the refineries. The agreement is renewed every year at prices and conditions that are agreed upon in accordance with international prices. The terms of payment in that agreement are easy terms. They are good commercial terms which others may not provide.

[Question] What is Syria's attitude toward the failure of the recent OPEC conference which was held in Geneva?

[Answer] We had hoped that OPEC members would reach agreement about quotas and prices even though Syria in particular would not be affected at the present time by a decline or a rise in oil prices. This is because we almost have a balanced balance of trade. However, the breakup of this organization will cause it to lose control over the oil market. Consequently, oil prices will continue to fall, and that will force some oil countries to pump more oil to make up for their declining revenues which are due to lower oil prices. And that, in turn, will cause further decline in prices.

In principle, we oppose the sale of these resources at such low prices.

[Question] Could you define Syria's oil policy? Will Syria join the oil cartel as a result of the recent oil discoveries?

[Answer] The ministry's policy stems from the general direction of the state's policy which requires that oil be utilized in the country. The Syrian Oil Company is the outfit that carries out all surveying and all oil and gas exploration operations. It also carries out activities related to these operations. The oil and oil derivatives which are being produced in Syria now are being produced by Arab technicians who are involved in every stage of the production process, including transporting the oil through the pipeline and refining it. To save time, however, The Syrian Oil Company receives the assistance of international contractors who work side by side with the Syrian Oil Company in its efforts to look for and find more oil fields and oil and gas bearing formations. Just as the (Pictin) Company succeeded in discovering the (al-Taym) oil field south of Dayr al-Zawr, the Syrian Oil Company was previously able to discover several formations similar to the (al-Ratbah) formation in (al-Taym). We hope that new fields will be discovered as a result of continuing exploratory drilling operations. Such new discoveries would strengthen our oil production and help us meet our consumption of oil derivatives which has been growing as a result of the major change that has been taking place in the country in all areas, particularly the economic and social areas. It may therefore be said that we are still continuing our serious and tireless efforts to increase our reserves so that we can meet production. At the outset of the fifth 5-Year Plan we produced about 320 million cubic meters. By the end of this 5-Year Plan oil production had exceeded 400 million cubic meters. It is expected therefore that production from our fields will increase during the next 2 years, and we do hope to join the world's oil cartel.

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SYRIA

RIF'AT AL-ASAD INTERVIEWED ON ARABS' ECONOMIC SITUATION

Beirut AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AL-DUWALI in Arabic 8 Jun 86 p 25

[Interview with Vice President Rif'at al-Asad: "This Is a Crisis of Waste and Mismanagement; a Shift toward Economic Interaction among Arabs Is a Must; Absence of Arab Solidarity Is Hurting Us;" in Paris; date of interview not specified]

[Text] Dr Rif'at al-Asad, vice president of the Arab Republic of Syria for national security affairs is a man of few words even though he is a broad-minded man who adapts himself easily to situations. Dr Rif'at al-Asad shuns making statements and giving interviews even though some of his ideas about general economic issues in the Arab world at this stage are important. These ideas have been deduced from comments he made on these subjects and from his conversations with some of those around him. These are some of those comments.

[Question] How extensive is the financial and economic crisis in the Middle East, and how long will it last?

[Answer] The crisis which the Arab homeland is facing today is that of wasting resources and squandering abilities. The absence of regulations and guidance, which is one of the most important reasons and root causes of the crisis, may be explained by historical factors that go back to recent or ancient history. But the absence of regulations and guidance did in fact cause production in our Arab homeland to decline. Our abilities were wasted and dissipated, and production levels declined and fell below possible levels. All this is the result of mismanagement. These evil conditionss will persist until Arab managers understand that Arab capital must be managed by Arabs and that an integrated Arab economic entity must be set up.

[Question] Is the crisis the result of mismanagement and poor planning, or is it the result of choosing the wrong economic systems?

[Answer] Both. We have no uniform understanding and no common ground on managing the Arab economy. People who manage these economies do not even have a common climate, nor do they have the qualified personnel who can direct the countries' economies. That is part of the equation. The other part of the economic decline equation involves misunderstanding the nature of economic philosophies which are being applied either in a socialist or a capitalist

framework. Despite differences and discrepancies between both courses, there are those who say the two systems are related. Some people have called that relationship a national, international or a native socialism. But we Arabs still perceive economics through recorded figures, personal capabilities, abstractions and a host of determinations Arabs have grown accustomed to hearing and repeating without understanding.

[Question] What effect has the crisis had on employment opportunities in Arab countries and on the movement of labor among these countries?

[Answer] That fact is contributing to the decline of the Arab economy, but it is not a fundamental factor in that decline if it can be dealt with in the context of general Arab solidarity. It is known that labor has played a part in the economic growth of other countries that are nearby or far away. Even common markets are crowning their cooperative efforts by providing equal employment opportunities for their citizens in all the countries of the common market in question. We've enjoyed such a climate in the Arab world before oil prices fell. There is no doubt that affirming a common Arab view of economic growth would pave the way for the development of a role that human skills can play throughout the Arab world, and the contributions made by human resources transcend all boundaries. It thus behooves us to turn away from our currently prevailing directions and pursue economic integration and interaction. It behooves the different rich and poor Arab countries to share their expertise.

[Question] Compared to the current crisis, how pressing is the crisis of food production shortages in the Arab world?

[Answer] The existing situation has a negative effect on food production. This is because there are Arab countries with vast territories and few inhabitants, and there are countries which are densely populated but have limited territory. If expertise is not shared, if labor is not distributed, and if there is no participation and cooperation, it will be impossible to produce agricultural goods and realize the national aspirations of producing those goods. Agricultural production has strategic implications that affect the security of citizens with regard to sufficiency. Arab countries have land that is not being utilized, and they have competent specialists who are either neglected or wasted. It is time that we reunite and concentrate our efforts on improving performance in this extremely important sector.

[Question] To what extent has the Iraq-Iran war contributed to the crisis? What would be the consequences of stopping this war?

[Answer] War is war, and war has a negative effect on the national economy. If wars are launched because of national interests, the economy is affected during the conflict. Ultimately, however, there is prosperity, and that is good for the national economy.

[Question] What are the most important steps that have to be taken in the Arab world to develop human resources, to share technical expertise and to have economic cooperation among the Arab countries?

[Answer] The Arab Solidarity Movement is the most important framework. It makes us think about how we can cooperate in technical, cultural and social areas to ensure the growth and development of technical skills. Without Arab solidarity, however, achieving any success in that regard becomes really impossible. The fact that the spirit of cooperation has not evolved and methods which could achieve the goals of cooperation have not materialized with the passage of time are factors working against the Arabs' interests. We are a part of this world with all its different regions and accomplishments. During the past 10 years the industrial world did achieve significant progress, and the gap which separates it from the developing world is much greater than it was in the past. At the same time we found growing differences in the efforts Arab countries are making for growth, but instead of growing, the areas of cooperation among these Arab countries are shrinking. Consequently, there is a sense of loss because time is passing swiftly by, compared to the development of technology. That puts us in a backward position, and we have to strive to make up for what we missed. It will not be easy to breach that gap, and our efforts ought not to be less than those made by the Japanese and the Germans after World War II.

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CSO: 4404/337

AFGHANISTAN

CLASHES BETWEEN SUPPORTERS OF KARMAL, NAJIBULLAH REPORTED

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 26 May 86 p 1

[Text]

ISLAMABAD (Dispatches) - Guerillas shot down an Afghan helicopter gunship, killing four crew on May 14, rebels said Saturday.

Four Soviet-made helicopters were searching for Afghan guerilla bases near Dehrawat, in central Afghanistan, May 14 when one was hit by the rebels' anti-aircraft, a rebel spokesman in Peshawar said.

Four crew were killed in the crash.

The rebels' AAP news agency contradicted reports saying they were using soldiers held prisoners to detonate mines.

AAP described the Western media reports as 'false and fabricated,' and said four prisoners and several rebels were killed near the Zhawar base, 10 miles (16 km) from the border with Pakistan when a mine exploded.

AAP also reported the rebels captured 200 soldiers during recent fightings near Zhawar. Some prisoners were tried, sentenced to death and executed because they

supported the Soviet-backed government in Kabul. Other prisoners were left in custody of the court, AAP said.

An IRNA report from New Delhi said supporters of Dr. Najibollah, the new chief of Afghan Communist Party and President Babrak Karmal clashed in Makrooriyan of Kabul last week following the arrest of Mahmood Baryaliyi the brother of Karmal and Mrs. Anaita Ratebzad, member of the Central Communist Party of Afghanistan.

According to reports reaching here the supporters of Karmal became furious after the arrest of their leaders, and protested against the act of the present government for its unlawful act.

Meanwhile, police arrested some women students who demonstrated against the new government in Kabul last week.

According to Afghan Mojahideen sources here, one Army jeep was attacked by the Mojahideen killing all its military crew in Chahar Ghalaye Vazirabad of Kabul.

/9317  
CSO: 4600/375

AFGHANISTAN

NEW LEADER SAID TO BE RULING AS 'ONE-MAN TRIUMVIRATE'

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 28 May 86 p 4

[Text]

ISLAMABAD (Reuter) — Afghan Communist Party Chief Najibullah has quickly come to dominate Kabul's officially collective leadership, turning it into a 'one-man triumvirate' since taking power three weeks ago, Western diplomats said yesterday.

The former secret-police boss has been holding highly publicized meetings almost daily with security forces, border tribes and Communist officials to promote his drive for tighter discipline and less corruption, they said.

President Babrak Karmal, whom he replaced as party leader on May 4, has made only two short public appearances this month while Prime Minister Sultan Ali Kistmand has not been seen in weeks, they added in quoting reports from Kabul.

Najibullah, 39, announced the Soviet-style 'Troika' leadership on May 15, saying he would lead the party, Karmal would work to widen the government's bases of support and Kistmand would have responsibility for the economy.

Moscow has traditionally opted for a triumvirate after a powerful ruler was replaced, but the three men usually stayed active for a few years before a dominant leader emerged.

Echoing the efficiency drive of Soviet leader Mikhail

Gorbachev, Najibullah has railed against corruption and sloppy work at meetings of armed political commissars, interior ministry militiamen, border tribes and party activists.

He taunted Kabul city party workers for not being able to stop Moslem rebel attacks in the capital's suburbs and failing to recruit more than six percent of all student teachers into the Communist youth organization.

"Problems grow quicker than their solutions," he complained at one meeting. "They should be solved today."

The diplomats said Najibullah, who would have extensive Khad secret police files on leading figures in Kabul, had created a wave of anxiety among high-ranking officials by hitting out so hard against corruption and bribery.

He was expected to reshuffle the cabinet soon, bringing more members of ethnic minorities into high positions to promote a 'divide and rule' nationalities policy Afghan exiles say Moscow favors.

The diplomats said an unnamed cabinet minister was rumored to be seeking asylum in the West and Khad was stepping up pressure on two remaining Western companies — Hoechst and Brown Boveri — in a possible bid to expel foreign technicians.

/9317

CSO: 4600/373



AFGHANISTAN

HEAVY CASUALTIES TAKEN BY BOTH SIDES IN BORDER COMBATS

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 21 May 86 p 1

[Text]

ISLAMABAD (Reuter) Communist troops and Moslem rebels are taking heavy casualties in the latest government offensive against guerilla bases and supply routes near the Pakistan border, Afghan exiles said yesterday.

Soviet and Afghan troops have set up six temporary camps around Jaji, along one of the main rebel infiltration routes into Afghanistan, and Communist aircraft are bombing the area daily, they said.

Just across the border, four people died and four were injured Monday as Afghan forces shelled across the border into the Pakistani frontier village of Peiwar Kotal, local press reports said.

Tribesmen living in the area, at the tip of the Kurram salient jutting deep into Afghan territory, have fled further inland to escape the persistent shelling, the reports said.

Afghan exiles said rebels had killed up to 90 Communist troops and lost 25 guerillas in recent days. These figures could not be confirmed.

Guerillas defending four rebel bases around Jaji have been subjected to continuous bombing raids for the past two weeks, mostly by Soviet-built SU-22 ground attack aircraft

which they are almost helpless against, the exiles said.

A Pakistani F-16 interceptor shot down an Afghan SU-22 last Saturday as it and another Sukhoi jet flew about 15 km (nine miles) into Pakistani territory over the Kurram salient.

Western diplomats quoted reports from Kabul saying many Communist high-performance jets had been seen flying over the city last week. They reported seeing MiG-27s last month but did not identify the latest aircraft sighted.

They said 56 of the unidentified jets were seen last Friday heading north, presumably returning to Bagram Airbase after bombing runs over Jaji, 100 km (60 miles) southeast.

They quoted airport sources saying most flights from Kabul Airport last week were transport planes ferrying troops to the Jaji area, where rebels reported paratroopers had landed to lead the attack on their bases.

Few helicopters were seen and most tanks, armored personnel carriers and trucks normally based at Moscow's Khaikhana base in northern Kabul were out on duty, they said. The diplomats assumed they had been sent to Jaji.

Another report from New Delhi says Soviet and Afghan government troops killed 278 Moslem rebels and seized a large number of weapons during a clash in northeastern Afghanistan.

Kabul Radio, in a broadcast monitored in New Delhi, said 76 guerillas, including two rebel leaders, were arrested in the clash near the town of Baharak in northeastern Badkshen Province.

Four rebel leaders were also among the 278 guerillas killed, it said.

Afghan and Soviet troops seized 12 heavy machine guns, six mortars, six rocket launchers and other assorted weapons as well as supplies during the fighting.

The broadcast gave no further details and did not say when the clashes occurred.

The Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in December 1979 and maintains about 115,000 troops in the country to support the Communist government against Moslem resisters.

A key adviser to Soviet Mikhail Gorbachev said Monday Moscow wants to bring its troops home from Afghanistan in the very near future.

15 July 1986

## AFGHANISTAN

## BRIEFS

RECONCILIATION OFFERED TO EXILES--Islamabad (Reuter)--Afghanistan's new Communist party leader Najibullah has made a second appeal to exiles to return home, the official Bakhtar news agency reported yesterday. The agency quoted him as saying in a speech at a village near the capital Kabul Sunday that exiles who fled the seven-year-old war between Islamic guerillas and the Soviet-backed government could return to resume a normal life. "The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is prepared for a national reconciliation with those of our countrymen who are wandering abroad in misery, so that they can return to their homeland and resume their normal life," Najibullah said. Some 4.5 million Afghan refugees live in Pakistan and Iran. Most have ignored previous official offers of a safe return home. The appeal was Najibullah's second since he replaced Babrak Karmal as party leader on May 4. He said with such a reconciliation "a calm and prosperous living condition will prevail through affection and brotherhood." [Text] [Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 27 May 86 p 1] /9317

SOVIET AIR BASE BOMBED--Islamabad (Reuter)--Nineteen people were injured when a bomb exploded in a crowded bus station in the Pakistani town of Peshawar, a center for refugees and anti-government guerillas from neighboring Afghanistan, police said yesterday. They said the five-pound (two-kg) bomb exploded Friday as passengers were waiting to board a bus in the north-west border town. Two of the injured were said to be in serious condition. Police have blamed previous blasts on rival Afghan guerilla groups and on agents of the Soviet-backed government in Kabul which is fighting the rebels. Meanwhile, Islamic guerillas rocketed the Soviet air base at Jalalalabad in eastern Afghanistan and destroyed two helicopters, damaged three others and killed eight Soviet and Afghan government soldiers, guerilla officials claimed Friday. A spokesman for the Yunis Khalis group, one of the seven main guerilla groups fighting the Communist government of Afghanistan, said its fighters fired 24, 107-mm rockets at the air base last Sunday. The helicopters were sitting helplessly by the runway, he said. Three Soviet and five Afghan Army soldiers were killed in the attack, the official said. The airbase has been repeatedly attacked in the past by the insurgents. [Text] [Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 27 May 86 p 1] /9317

CSO: 4600/376

INDIA

## REPORT ON GANDHI 14 MAY SPEECH IN LUSAKA

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 15 May 86 p 1

[Text]

**LUSAKA, May 14.—Mr Rajiv Gandhi today called upon all nations of the world to hasten the advent of equality and freedom in South Africa and warned that any delay would only mean terrible bloodshed, reports PTI. He was speaking at a banquet hosted in his honour by Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda.**

The Prime Minister said: "The peaceful method is to apply comprehensive mandatory sanctions that will undermine the economic base of apartheid and thus restore human dignity to the people of South Africa".

Mr Gandhi, who devoted most part of his speech to the liberation struggle of the frontline States and the practice of apartheid in South Africa, said the racist Pretoria regime had indulged in unabashed subversion, promoted destabilization and committed aggression against the frontline States.

Pledging India's backing to the frontline States in their endeavour to safeguard their independence and integrity, Mr Gandhi said, "We will extend our full support to them for the attainment of majority rule and social justice in South Africa".

The Prime Minister said Mr Nelson Mandela and Mrs Winnie Mandela, Mr Oliver Tambo and thousands upon thousands of South Africans have faced prison, batons and bullets. "Their sacrifices will be crowned with success", he asserted.

Despite the U.N. declaration on decolonization, despite the termination of South Africa's mandate, despite the pronouncement of the International Court of Justice, despite the Security Council's plan for

the independence of Namibia—Namibia remained enslaved. "Irrelevant issues are being linked to Namibia's right to immediate, unconditional independence", he said and stressed that the U.N. plan, untrammelled by any conditions, must be implemented without delay.

Mr Gandhi said no sensitive person anywhere today could be complacent about the future of the world. The awesome stockpiles of nuclear armaments positioned round the globe are an unmitigated evil. Yet "nuclear-weapon powers are daily spending billions on new research in death-dealing technology and on the development of new delivery systems". He said and noted all this is sought to be justified in the name of peace.

Mr Gandhi, who is also the chairman of the non-aligned movement, said "we who care for peace cannot allow the world to be so mocked and perverted. We want peace and nuclear disarmament because a nuclear war will kill our peoples no less than the combatants. For us the survival of humanity is a bigger cause than the anxiety of some nations to perpetuate their own pre-eminence".

Referring to bilateral relations, Mr Gandhi said right from their advent as sovereign nations, Zambia and India had chosen to keep away from the contest between the rival power blocs. "As non-aligned countries, we are not interested in belonging to either camp. We reiterated this in Lusaka and again in New Delhi".

Mr Gandhi said non-alignment is the assertion of our right to live beyond the nuclear age. "We have held nuclear war to be a crime against humanity and regard nuclear disarmament".

He said the six-nation five-continent peace initiative had carried this message of non-alignment across the world and directly to the people living in nuclear weapon States.

At the outset, Mr Gandhi said a visit to Zambia is always a special delight for an India. "Sonia and I thank you for the friendship you have lavished on us". Mr Gandhi said and extended to the Zambian President and his people the greetings and good wishes of the people of India.

Mr Gandhi said Zambia and India both cherish freedom and the equality of all human beings. "We are staunchly opposed to colonialism and racism. We have together endeavoured to build a peaceful and equitable world order".

The Prime Minister said it would avail us nothing "if we inherit the earth but lose our souls".

"There is an inner strength which has sustained us and you through periods of prowess and prosperity as well as through times of deprivation and bondage", he said.

UNI adds: Breaking protocol, Mr Kaunda turned up at the airport to welcome the Prime Minister who arrived here this morning.

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CSO: 4600/1808

INDIA

GANDHI INTERVIEW WITH LONDON TELEVISION REPORTED

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 30 May 86 p 1

[Text]

**London, May 29 (AP):** The Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, says he believes the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, will agree to mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa if the Commonwealth decides to impose them.

If Britain went against a Commonwealth decision to impose sanctions, Mr Gandhi said the onus would be on Britain to pull out of the organisation it founded in 1931 to maintain close contacts with its former colonies.

In an interview on Independent Television last night, Mr Gandhi said 44 Commonwealth members, including Britain, had approved a resolution at last October's Commonwealth summit in Nassau agreeing to mandatory sanctions if South Africa

did not make progress toward ending apartheid.

When the interviewer told Mr Gandhi that he would have to persuade Mrs Thatcher to agree to comprehensive mandatory sanctions, the Indian leader said: "We believe she sticks to her word." On being asked what would happen if she did not, he said, "We shall have to see. I don't think she will go back on what she said in Nassau."

Asked about reports that India and several other countries would leave the Commonwealth if Britain refused to go along with sanctions, Mr Gandhi replied: "When 43 countries are agreed on something and one country is not, it's hardly for the 43 to leave... so the onus is on Britain. It will be for Britain to decide what they want to do."

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CSO: 4600/1816

INDIA

PANEL WITNESS ASKS FOR HELP IN FIGHTING CIA

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 31 May 86 p 3

[Text]

A witness of the Kudal Commission of Enquiry, R S Dikshit, has appealed to the Commission to help him come out of the 'well-laid trap' of CIA agents in the country and thus aid him to expose the lobby which is behind some of the major problems that the country faces.

Mr Dikshit has in a memorandum submitted on Friday urged the commission to help him fight the CIA agents in the Government and other places. They are out to get him because he has submitted "documentary proof" against organisations and people helping the CIA and other anti-national organisations like the Kashmir Liberation Front which are getting funds through the CIA conduits.

Mr Dikshit said that some of these agents had also forced the police of Kalkaji to register a false case against him. These include a senior army officer, who was using the service facilities to evict him from his place in Kailash Colony where he was running the health education foundation.

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CSO: 4600/1821



INDIA

INDIAN GAINS FROM U.S. UNION CARBIDE RULING NOTED

Madras THE HINDU in English 14 May 86 p 9

[Excerpt]

NEW DELHI, May 13.

The initial reaction in the official circles here today to the U.S. court ruling in the Union Carbide case was that it "cannot really be viewed as giving any strategic advantage to Union Carbide."

"While taking into account the totality of the decision", official sources said, "it is apparent that it is the Government that has substantially gained from the ruling of the U.S. court."

"There is reason to believe that justice will now become available for the Bhopal victims," they felt.

The conditions attached by the U.S. judge in returning the case to India "meets the concern that may have prompted the Government to file a suit in the U.S. initially," they said.

"For instance, the judge has required Union Carbide to submit fully to the jurisdiction of the Indian courts, to satisfy any judgment rendered by the Indian courts, and to allow discovery under the U.S. federal rules of civil procedure."

**Full and effective jurisdiction:** It was felt that the U.S. court ruling would give Indian courts full and effective jurisdiction over Union Carbide and facilitate the enforcement of the judgment of an Indian Court in the U.S. where the assets of Union Carbide are, for fully satisfying the claims of the Bhopal gas tragedy victims.

"In the absence of these conditions, Union Carbide could have raised the question of jurisdiction, attacked the judgment of an Indian court and refused to adduce evidence available with it outside India," they pointed out.

To secure the final decision on all these matters could have taken a long time. "The present decision of the U.S. court has obviated the need for doing so and therefore there is reason to believe that justice will now become available for the Bhopal victims," the sources said.

/9317  
CSO: 4600/1817

INDIA

U.S. INTERFERENCE IN PLANE DISAPPEARANCE HINTED

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 16 May 86 p 4

[Article by Cecil Victor]

[Text]

There have been many cases in aviation history that aircraft are lost without trace and some have, as in the case of the IAF Dakota that was lost in the icy wastes of Ladakh, been found decades later but the disappearance of the AN-32 in the north Arabian Sea is baffling indeed. There is no inkling yet of what happened over the Arabian Sea nor, for that matter, of the other AN-32 that was lost in Ladakh a few days earlier.

In the Ladakh case the weather was bad and it is not unlikely that the debris of the aircraft is buried too deep in perpetual snows to be discernible to search parties from the air in that rugged terrain. But there is much in the second crash that the IAF and the Government have to clarify. A court of inquiry is in progress and that is one reason why not much more information has been forthcoming.

In the announcement of the disappearance of the second aircraft on 25 March, the Government indicated that it took off from Muscat (Oman) on 25 March at 13.28 IST and the last radio contact with the aircraft was at 14.45 IST. In subsequent disclosures in Parliament the Government said that it was the second of three aircraft that were

being ferried from the Soviet Union to India via Oman. The three aircraft had taken off at 20-minute intervals and were not flying parallel to each other nor had maintained radio contact with each other. They were headed for the premier air base of the South Western Air Command in Jamnagar. The aircraft which crashed had informed Jamnagar over its powerful radio telephone that it was expected to arrive there at 15.45 IST (an hour after its last radio contact).

It is learnt that only after the first aircraft landed at Jamnagar and the third arrived did the Jamnagar authorities launch aerial and surface search for the overdue aircraft.

In the procedure that has been followed for the ferrying of this batch of aircraft from the Soviet Union there are many laxities which predisposed these aircraft to being difficult to locate in the event of an accident or interception. The first of these is the twenty-minute gap between each aircraft on its homeward journey and their failure to maintain radio contact with each other.

For whatever reasons this procedure was followed (and there can be several in an area that is swarming with naval and aerial activity of a host of ships and air-

craft of the NATO alliance not to mention the almost daily aerial attacks on shipping inside the Gulf by Iran and Iraq) it reduced to zero the possibility that either of the accompanying aircraft could have detected what went wrong with the missing plane.

By working backward from estimated speed and last radio contact it is possible to ascertain approximately where the aircraft may have plunged into the sea. The AN-32 has a normal continuous cruise speed of 329 mph at 26,250 ft altitude. The distance between Muscat and Jamnagar is approximately 710 miles as the crow flies (in a straight line). Since the aircraft took off from Muscat at 13.28 hours and had been flying for one hour and 17 minutes without incident it would have crossed a distance of about 400 miles if it were travelling at its cruise speed and depending on the wind speed and direction. The likely area of crash would be anywhere from about 300 miles north west of Jamnagar to a point in the Arabian Sea from where the Jamnagar radar can pick up aircraft on its screen. Since the aircraft never came on the Jamnagar radar screen it must have disappeared before that distance.

All this is valid only if the aircraft were flying in a straight line from Muscat to Jamnagar. If, however, as alleged by the relatives of one of the IAF personnel on board, the aircraft was hugging the coast, perhaps flying just outside Pakistan's territorial waters then the possibility that it was shot down cannot be ruled out. The Government has said that no debris has been located which would be the case if the aircraft had blown up in midair. That the aircraft could have dived straight into the deep blue sea without the pilot sending an SOS only if the radio was malfunctioning and the aircraft did not break up on contact with the water.

The possibility of sabotage has been suggested because of the refuelling stop at Muscat where not only is the place swarming with expatriate Pakistanis but the US and Britain have strong counter-intelligence networks operating there. Planting an explosive would not be too difficult but then there is no telltale floating debris to indicate an explosion on board.

The relatives of one of the IAF personnel on board have told the authorities that he had complained of being "chased" by other aircraft during earlier flights out of Muscat. It must be stated here that "buzzing" (flying close) of Indian ships and aircraft by foreign craft (mainly the US) is a pastime that is indulged in quite often and naval and air force commanders

have been loathe to allow it to be publicised and the Government has preferred to keep mum over it.

Such activity is clearly an attempt to assert one's presence in the region which the US, France, Britain and West Germany have done by increasing their ship component in the NATO fleet that is operating in the Gulf in the hope of being able to intervene in the Iran-Iraq war. The arrival of the Seventh Fleet task force led by the aircraft carrier Enterprise to Karachi is part of the same exercise. The Enterprise left Karachi on 19 March, six days before the AN-32 was lost.

Returning to the possibility of finding the lost aircraft, it is an indication of the state of IAF safety that there was no reaction when the second aircraft failed to appear on the Jamnagar radar screen at the estimated time of arrival. That they waited till the third aircraft landed only made it so much more difficult to find out what actually happened.

It is necessary to know what has happened because the disappearance of two AN-32 transport aircraft within a few days of each other has set afloat rumours that could have come only from IAF sources that the vibration level in the aircraft was high. It could be an attempt at denigration by a lobby which is interested in mak-

ing the Government of India stop further delivery of the aircraft from the Soviet Union and reopen negotiations with western aircraft manufacturers to purchase their plane instead.

The aircraft, if indeed it has crashed into the sea, must be lying either in the very deep section of the Arabian Sea (depths beyond 6000 ft) which begins approximately 300 miles north west of Jamnagar. Before that there is a stretch of about 40 miles of sea where the depth of water ranges from 600 to 5000 ft and, closer inshore there is nearly 80-mile stretch where the depth is between 150 to 600 feet. The continental shelf bulging out of the Gulf of Kutch is only about 50 miles from the shore.

The Government of India has asked aircraft overflying the area to monitor bleeps that may emanate from on board transmitters that become activated by salt water. Indian Airlines has four flights a week between Bombay and Karachi which overfly the likely area of impact. So far they have drawn a blank.

It is now nearly two months since the accident and the Government will have to consider whether an undersea search similar to the one launched for Air India's Kanishka off the Irish coast is necessary to locate the aircraft in the deep sea.

/9317

CSO: 4600/1809

INDIA

## IMPORTANCE TO INDIA OF DOWNING OF AFGHAN PLANE

Madras THE HINDU in English 19 May 86 p 7

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, May 18.

Defence experts in Delhi are evaluating the Afghan and Pakistani versions of the incident in which one Afghan Air Force plane was shot down and another damaged by two F-16s that were sent up to intercept four MIG-19s that reportedly crossed the border to attack the Mujahideen camps inside Pakistan.

It has been established that the combat took place on the Pakistani side since the wreckage of the Afghan MIG-19 that was shot down had been shown to foreign correspondents in the Parachinar area of North-West Frontier Province.

Pakistan has not disclosed how this Afghan MIG-19 was shot down and another damaged in the first such incident since the Soviet troops moved into Afghanistan. But the defence attaches of the Western embassies in Islamabad have been told privately that two American-built F-16s equipped with the very latest air-to-air missiles were sent to intercept and shoot down the four intruding MIG-19s.

According to diplomatic reports reaching Delhi, the two F-16s also suffered some damage in this incident. As the MIG-19s of the Afghan Air Force, which are of Korean War Vintage, were no match to the highly sophisticated F-16s, the experts are inclined to take the view that the two Pakistani aircraft were probably hit by surface-to-air missiles if they had crossed the border during the dogfight or the Soviets had fitted some newly-developed missiles to the obsolescent MIG-19s to upgrade their firepower for limited use in trans-border operations.

**Little use:** It will take a few weeks at least for Indian experts to obtain the full details and as-

sess the performance of these two types of aircraft involved in this incident. But what is really important from India's point of view is that if the F-16s have, indeed, been used, it does not speak very highly of the Pakistani Air Force pilots who flew them, as only one MIG-19 was shot down and another damaged out of the four planes that crossed the border.

The high-performance F-16s are of little use in intercepting the intruding MIG-19s on hit-and-run missions, if the Pakistani Air Force is not prepared to engage them in a hot pursuit and chase them inside Afghanistan.

As far as the Indian Air Force is concerned, it has developed a well integrated system of interception to meet the threat of surprise attacks by F-16s from Pakistan. It is quite confident of facing the formidable F-16s with a dexterous mixture of MIG-21s, MIG-23s and Mirage-2000s equipped with different types of air-to-air missiles. The Jaguars, which are primarily strike aircraft designed for bombing missions, can perform an interdictory role in a war, for attacking the F-16s bases in Pakistan.

The fighter squadrons of the IAF would be strengthened further when the MIG-29s are acquired before long, to match or even surpass the F-16s in their performance. There is no end to this race for superiority since the F-20s, developed by the U.S., are far superior to the F-16s, and so are the MIG-31s, now under development in the Soviet Union.

The IAF, with its wide range of fighter aircraft, is not aiming at competing with the U.S. Air Force, but only in maintaining an edge over the F-16s given to Pakistan. And, the lessons drawn from the Parachinar incident will have their own relevance to the Indo-Pak situation.

/9317

CSO: 4600/1810

INDIA

## CONFERENCE OF RESEARCH LABORATORY DIRECTORS HELD

### Reasons for Meeting

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 28 May 86 p 1

[Text]

Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi is scheduled to meet the directors of CSIR laboratories on Wednesday in the midst of serious anxiety over the role of this premier scientific organisation in the country and an on-going debate whether it has fulfilled the hopes placed on it at the time of its establishment 38 years ago.

Mr Gandhi, who is the president of the Council has already set up a committee under the chairmanship of Planning Commission member Abid Hussain to review its functioning.

The review report will indicate if the CSIR, one of the oldest research agencies in the country, has been able to realise the dreams of Jawaharlal Nehru and S S Bhatnagar who created it with great hopes.

During this period CSIR has expanded considerably and has now a chain of 40 research laboratories with stately buildings and the finest equipments. The most capable basic researchers and applied as well as developmental research scientists and engineers in the country work in them.

Mr Gandhi is addressing the directors of the laboratories after a gap of almost one year. In his discussions with them in July last year, the Prime Minister had asked the scientists of this science and technology research agency to plan their research and development activities with three principal objectives.

First, the science and technology efforts in the country should meet the basic needs of the common man, specially in the rural areas, such as, agricultural yields, foodgrain preservation, water resource management and low cost building technology.

Secondly, it should help the Indian industry to come up to international standards, and, thirdly, the CSIR should carry on futuristic research, so that in a decade or so India may go ahead of the other countries at least in a few areas.

Mr Gandhi had also asked the CSIR to identify the problems faced by the other departments of the Government and find solutions for them. He had assured that the CSIR would not be constrained by paucity of funds if it worked to subserve these objectives.

During this period, the CSIR has identified 90 thrust areas and 130 technological missions following constant and continuous chasing from the Prime Minister's secretariat. But the quarterly monitoring system introduced by the CSIR has not been able to show significant output. Consequently Dr S Varadarajan had to be sacked from the post of the director-general. Obviously, a suitable substitute has not yet been found and a stop-gap arrangement made is continuing.

Since the Abid Hussain Committee is yet to submit its report, the Prime Minister is likely to suspend his final judgment for the time being.



However, Mr Gandhi may, in the meantime, examine the reports of the earlier four review committees which assessed the work of the CSIR. Several observers are of the view that the concept of the CSIR as a R&D agency is a fallacy. The fact remains that about 90 research laboratories are doing their work limited by their understanding of the national problems and are not dealing with one organisation which has 5000 scientists and Rs 200 crore per year at its disposal.

The Government deals with 40 institutions, each having 40 to 150 scientists with funds at their disposal ranging from Rs 2 crore to Rs 8 crore per year.

The Government has to decide if it wants to use the combined strength of 5000 scientists and the finest scientific equipment in the country. There is a widespread view that the head office of the CSIR suffers from bureaucratic culture which is hardly conducive to creative and constructive target oriented scientific work.

Talented scientists, on several occasions, find the overlordship of the directors in the laboratories suffocating and often destructive. The content of the work in these laboratories is an equally important issue. The exercises of the past one year and the earlier assessments during the last 10 years show that the management of the CSIR has not been able to come up with worthwhile ideas for R&D on a national scale. Many CSIR functionaries expect Mr Gandhi to identify the national problems of R&D and order the CSIR to produce results.

But the target-oriented management approach which is becoming the hallmark in several important areas, has not yet been applied even after the R&D problems were given to the CSIR. The monitoring of the working of the CSIR also poses a serious problem. The Government has adopted two approaches namely, review committee after every 10 years, and computerised monitoring of about 100 major activities. Neither approach has fully succeeded so far.

The discussions on Wednesday are likely to cover some of these issues.

### Report on Gandhi Speech

Madras THE HINDU in English 29 May 86 p 9

[Text]

NEW DELHI, May 28.

Following is the text of the letter written by the Congress (I) Working President, Mr. Kamalapati Tripathi to the party President and Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, on April 22:

My dear Rajivji,

I am writing this with the hope that you will take it in the right spirit. This is not written out of anger or frustration, but out of the agony of a old Congressman who spent more than six and half decades of his life in the service of this nation, under the flag of this great organisation. After spending so many years in the service of this organisation, I cannot, but feel sad at the present state of affairs.

You will recall that in the shadow of the greatest national tragedy of recent times, you were chosen by the Congress (I) Parliamentary Board, to lead the party in Parliament. The Congress (I) Parliamentary Board recommended to the President to appoint you as the Prime Minister after the assassination of Indiraji. The decision of the Congress Parliamentary Board was overwhelmingly endorsed by the Congress (I) Party in Parliament at its meeting under my chairmanship. After a few days the Congress (I) Working Committee met under my chairmanship and elected you as the Congress (I) president, unanimously.

All these steps were taken by the party with the hope and expectation that you being the heir of Indiraji and Nehru family, would be in a position to lead the party not only to electoral victory, but also to pilot this great organisation in a very critical situation of our national life.

### Congressmen puzzled

In short, nobody in the party raised any question about the decision of the party leaders to vest in you all the power and authority of both the Government and the organisation. But, unfortunately, the same state of affairs do not prevail any longer. Not only the common Congressmen and women are puzzled and bewildered at the rapid disintegration of the party, at all levels, but they are shocked at the casual *ad hoc* and inept handling of the party matters by you and your so-called operators.

Indiraji appointed me as the Working President and delegated her authority to me, so that a large number of organisational work was disposed of by me and the Congressmen knew that they can approach me when the Prime Minister does not have that much time to discuss in detail. Functioning of the organisation was going on smoothly.

On 19th January, 1986, when you appointed Shri Arjun Singh as Vice-President and also announced several new names of General Secretaries, you had categorically stated in your press conference that they would all function under my guidance and direction. But office-bearers are appointed and replaced, PCCs are dissolved and reconstituted, cells are organised and reorganised, posts are created and abolished in the organisation, and I am consulted nowhere. I read these developments only in the newspapers. When press people put me questions, my embarrassment only increases. Since your assumption of office as President, you have completely made me *functus-officio*. Is there any need of my continuing in this

ornamental post? I have already written to you in this matter earlier.

Looking at the electoral performance of the party in the last 16 months, a Congress worker simply wonders where the party is going. If you simply look at the score board of our electoral victory, you will notice that our performance-curve is going down steadily. In the election to the Lok Sabha held in December 1984, we won more than 80 seats out of every 100 seats we contested. And in less than 365 days on 16th December 1985, our performance came down to 20 seats in Assam. Performance in the bye-elections was no better.

In March 1985 when States went to poll, we were shocked to find that in Maharashtra and Rajasthan, we narrowly escaped defeat. In Sikkim, Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka we were routed, in Uttar Pradesh our strength was reduced. In Bihar we maintained *status quo* and only in Orissa, Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh we improved our position.

I do not know whether you analysed the causes of this poor performance of the party just after two months of landslide victory in Lok Sabha poll. Contrary to this picture in 1980, after six months of the Lok Sabha poll, our party improved its position in the State Assembly elections in all States except only in one State, that is Tamil Nadu.

#### Unhealthy role

What are the reasons of this reverse in results? To my mind the unhealthy role played by our so-called advisers in selecting the candidates was primarily responsible for this. Established leadership in the States and local area was totally neglected. Even while making selection for 425 candidates for Uttar Pradesh Assembly, no effort was made to consult me, at any stage, although I was all along available in Delhi.

The so-called information sheet very often produced by one of your aides as authentic IB report, influenced your mind, and as a result a large number of deserving candidates were denied party nomination on the so-called "bad image" report and consequently the party suffered heavily in the election. In addition to this, your confession in Assam, at a public meeting, and the subsequent change of candidates, not only demoralised the party candidates but posed a serious doubt among the electorate, when the party's supreme authority himself confesses publicly that his nominees are not good, why they should vote for such party. Can we expect after this announcement that people will vote for us?

#### Thesis propagated

A thesis propagated by one of your Cabinet colleagues that though the Congress was defeated in Punjab but democracy won. Implication of this thesis is quite clear—victory of the Congress means negation of democracy. Can there be anything more preposterous than this? What a compliment to an organisation in its centenary year from a distinguished Cabinet colleague of yours.

However, this is not the end of the story. Congressmen and women assembled in hundreds and thousands at Brabourne Stadium on the December 29, 1985, were aghast to learn from the presidential remark about their organisation as being taken over by "power brokers" and converting the "social revolution" into a "feudal oligarchy". Whom did you mean as "power brokers"? Did you mean those persons who simply because of the proximity to you are enjoying both administrative and organisational power? Did you mean them as power brokers who did nothing in their whole life to strengthen the organisation but today are enjoying the fruits of the struggle of this great organisation? Congressmen and women were happy when you promised to remove these power brokers, but to their utter dismay they found

that according to you, power brokers are Pranab Mukherjee and Gundu Rao, who were unceremoniously removed from the working committee.

It is not the question of individuals but whom you chose to dispense with are the persons who stood by your mother and our leader in the most difficult time of our struggle, when many of your chosen associates were either mere onlookers or left her like "rats leaving a sinking boat". It is really unfortunate that your personal likes and dislikes have gone to such an extent that it is impossible to find any rationality in these acts.

Even assuming that as Prime Minister and as President of the organisation you have absolute rights to choose your own team but would that mean, that in appointing party office-bearers normal constitutional requirement could be thrown to the wind? Would you please tell me when Shri Arjun Singh was elected or nominated to AICC before he was appointed as Vice-President of the organisation? Was it not obligatory on his part to resign from AICC membership when he assumed office as Governor of Punjab? At what point of time between 15th of November and 19th of January he was elected to AICC or nominated by you to AICC? The same lapse may be pointed out in respect of a number of office bearers. These are minor things, no doubt, but these clearly indicate your process of thinking.

It seems that you have assumed all the power into yourself and you need not care for the petty formalities. The same high-handedness was expressed when you unilaterally changed a Congress candidate in Assam though he was selected by Congress Parliamentary Board under your chairmanship.

#### Musical chair style

Frequent changes in party and administrative offices have become a style of your functioning. Since 12th November 1984 to 19th January 1986, you have appointed and removed as many as nine General Secretaries. In one key Ministry the incumbents were changed five times during this period. The impression left by this musical chair style is that you are not sure of the capabilities of the persons you select. You are not only making injustice to them but deliberately you are injecting uncertainties in the whole system.

In handling some of the difficult issues like problems in Punjab and Assam you have shown impatience and your measures have not only been casual and *ad hoc* but have aggravated the problems. First of all, I would like to point out that there was no great hurry in arriving at these accords. People were prepared to give you more time to understand the implications of the issues in greater details. They were not in a hurry but it seems you were in great hurry. The accord which you signed with late Longowal and which was publicised in media with great fanfare would not solve the complex problem. Today, Punjab is back to square one, rather the situation is worse. Golden Temple is under the control of the extremists, violence is going on unabated, migration of minorities to and from Punjab are taking place silently.

#### Complex problem

In these circumstances mere change of Governor, occasional expression of concern, are not adequate to tackle the situation. By changing Governor in the midst of deteriorating situation, Government of India has assumed extra responsibility which should be discharged without any further delay. I do not know how you are going to restore normalcy in Punjab but perhaps you now realise that mere signing an accord is not enough to solve a complex problem.

The party in Assam like that in Punjab not only suffered a humiliating defeat in the last election but also reached a stage of virtual liquidation. The man who rose to the occasion to face a very difficult situation,

has been left like hot potato by you and there is no substitute of him to build it up again. But apart from the set-back of the party, the accord has dangerous implications. By signing this accord, Government of India accepted the proposition, that in this country, apart from aliens, there may be a group of people who are citizens without voting rights. By conceding to the demands of the Assam agitators and by subsequent enactment, Government of India has subscribed to the proposition that a strong determined group with sufficient muscle power, can change the constitutional right of an Indian, to reside in any part of the country.

I do not know whether your advisers pointed out to you the full political implications of these provisions of the accord. In this respect, may I point out that in both these matters, decisions were taken at the administrative levels and the party's support was taken for granted. These issues were never discussed either in the Congress Working Committee or in the Congress Parliamentary Board. When the accords were announced, the party had no option but to endorse the same.

### **Economic problems**

I am not mentioning the lapses of the Government in the economic field, as you have seen the reaction of the party members in respect of the recent price hike of petroleum products. The impression given by the economic policy makers, since last year's budget is that this Government is primarily concerned with the welfare of the well-to-do sections of society. The pro-poor stance of your mother's policy is the story of the past, though the party still theoretically stands committed to socialism. I know many economic pundits will come forward to challenge this contention and would try to establish that your model of economic growth would lead this country to the 21st century. I agree with you that it is important to prepare this country for the 21st century, but the main point is, whether you would take the whole country to the 21st century or only a chosen few will enter the coming century and millions would be left not only in the 20th century but perhaps in the 19th century.

The apprehension is justified from your list of priorities. When, according to the Government document—(challenges of education—policy perspective) nearly 200,000 schools do not have more than one teacher in the rural areas. Your priority seems to have a model school in every district. Even agreeing to the need of such schools, one wonders what should be our priority. All the so-called long term policies prescribed by your colleagues in-charge of economic ministries do not ensure steady growth of the economy with social justice which is the core of our economic planning. The resource constraints visible to fund the Plan, the serious balance of payments situation and rising prices, do not speak well of the management of the economy.

In view of these serious developments one expected that you would concentrate your energies in solving these national issues affecting our life, but unfortunately, instead of doing that you are busy in building up your own coterie with the discredited persons who deserted your mother at the most difficult time of her political career.

### **No malice**

I have no malice against any individual, but when one finds that a large number of your appointees in the Cabinet, gubernatorial posts, party offices, are

the same persons who not only deserted her but tried to persuade me in leaving her company, the inevitable result is the all round frustration among the Congressmen in the country. One should remember the strength of the Congress lies in its mass support and this support never comes from the drawing rooms of the elites but from the masses working in the field and factory.

Congress is a mass organisation. Open and universal membership to this organisation has sometimes been misused by a coterie. Here I am giving a classic example of misuse in U.P. Although March 31, 1986 was the last date for enrolment of members, yet thousands of copies of membership forms and huge sums of money were distributed all over U.P. after the last date. Even as late as 12th of April within the UPCC office new members were being enrolled and large sums of money were being deposited. People belonging to Opposition parties like the Lok Dal, the BJP and the Janata have been enrolled as members. All this points to a grand design of the "power brokers" to capture the organisation. A thorough inquiry be made (a) into the whole affair of enrolling bogus members and (b) the source of huge sums of money which are flowing to finance the same. Further, I would like to know what is the justification of changing five PCC Presidents and reconstituting scores of District Congress Committees once the organisational elections are round the corner. Such *ad hoc* appointments at this stage only serve to confirm the worst fears that organisational elections will be a mere meaningless ritual.

### **Losing touch**

My contention is that the Congress is rapidly losing its contact with the masses and you are surrounded by a number of sycophants who were not only "Indira-baiters" but most of them were "Indira haters".

The message you conveyed by your action in the last 16 months indicate that those who were close to your mother are mostly untouchable to you. As I mentioned earlier I have no malice against anyone nor have I anything to receive from anybody. I am writing this, only to express the feelings of hundreds and thousands of Congressmen and women who love this organisation as their second religion. I am sorry if my language is less than polite and it hurts you. I have no intention of hurting you. My relation to your family goes back to the Twenties. I took the pledge of serving my motherland under the guidance of your great grandfather Shri Motilalji and since then I have identified myself with your family through generations. You are so dear to me and I wish you only success. My loyalty to your family is not out of respect to the office, as I frequently said to your mother and I am reiterating that I am not loyal to the Prime Minister but to Indiraji. There is no lack of goodwill and affection to you but at the same time, as an elderly Congressman, who has seen so much, I thought it would be my responsibility to tell you the truth and make you aware of the pitfalls.

I urge upon you to save the Congress because if the Congress is finished the great ideals of democracy, socialism, secularism and non-alignment also cannot survive and the country will disintegrate.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
Kamlapati Tripathi

/9317

CSO: 4600/1817

INDIA

## INTEGRATED APPROACH TO FOREIGN, ECONOMIC TIES

### Dual Posts for Shankar

Madras THE HINDU in English 14 May 86 p 9

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, May 13.

One reason why the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, has chosen Mr. P. Shiv Shankar as Minister for External Affairs and let him retain the Commerce portfolio as additional charge is to evolve an integrated approach to political and economic diplomacy by developing what is described as a total concept of foreign relations.

He wants political diplomacy to be closely coordinated with the pursuit of the country's economic interests which at present is being conducted at different levels with no particular Ministry in overall control of this two-pronged effort.

As Minister for Commerce, Mr. Shiv Shankar bears the main responsibility for promotion of foreign trade and, in his new role as External Affairs Minister, he is required to perform the dual task of combining political diplomacy with the conduct of economic relations. He has been given a free hand to restructure the External Affairs Ministry and strengthen its economic wing by merging some sections of the foreign trade wing of the Commerce Ministry with it.

**New task for Ambassadors:** The Indian Ambassadors will be asked to pay equal attention hereafter to the promotion of India's economic interests without concentrating exclusively on political relations. The performance of each Embassy will be judged in terms of the success it achieves in strengthening India's foreign trade by stepping up exports.

The Prime Minister is reported to be very much concerned at the widening trade gap with the deficit for 1985-86 in the region of Rs. 7,000 crores. This has badly upset the country's

balance of payments position leading to a further erosion of the exchange value of the rupee.

**Pep talk to senior officials:** One of the very first things that Mr. Shiv Shankar did on assuming charge of the External Affairs Ministry yesterday was to give a pep talk to the senior officials on this new concept of a closely integrated political and economic approach to the country's foreign relations. It will presumably involve carving out a bigger role for him than what his predecessors in this Ministry had performed, exercising little or no control over the economic diplomacy conducted by the Ministries of Finance and Commerce.

**Bhagat's exclusion intriguing:** But what is intriguing observers here is why Mr. B. R. Bhagat was dropped so abruptly without giving him an adequate opportunity to display his capacity to carry out this two pronged policy or offering him an alternative portfolio where he would have been more at home.

As one who served first as a Parliamentary Secretary, then as a Deputy Minister and thereafter as a Minister of State with independent charge of Planning under Nehru and as Minister of State for Finance and External Affairs and subsequently as Cabinet-rank Minister for Foreign Trade and Steel, before he was made Speaker of the Lok Sabha, he was not an altogether unknown figure. In assigning the foreign portfolio to him during the last Cabinet expansion, the Prime Minister would have had some idea of his capabilities and limitations.

So his sudden exclusion has given the critics an opportunity to attribute motives and spread the word that he has been made a scapegoat for some undisclosed reason.

## Envoys' Orientation Course

Madras THE HINDU in English 31 May 86 p 9

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, May 30.

The first of the orientation courses being organised by the Ministry of External Affairs to make Indian Ambassadors and High Commissioners better aware of the country's political pursuits and economic aspirations, begins on Monday, under the auspices of the Foreign Affairs Institute, a Governmental institution.

The heads of Indian missions in neighbouring countries and West Asia will go through a week-long course on all aspects of the country's foreign policy, domestic politics and economic objectives.

**Stress on trade ties:** The External Affairs Minister, Mr. P. Shiv Shankar, who will be inaugurating this course, has already laid considerable stress in his talk to the officials of the Ministry on the need for a closer coordination between the political and economic pursuits in the conduct of the country's foreign relations. He has written to all heads of Indian missions that they should play a more active role in promoting trade relations without concentrating wholly on political issues.

The Prime Minister, too, has been emphasising repeatedly the need for a more integrated approach to political and economic diplomacy without undue compartmentalisation of the functional roles of Indian missions. It is presumably with this objective in view that he has entrusted Mr. Shiv Shankar with the dual charge of External Affairs and Commerce.

**Logical follow-up:** The decision to organise these orientation courses on a regional basis for heads of Indian diplomatic missions was taken as a logical follow-up to the earlier move

for having such refresher programmes for both senior and junior officers of the Indian Administrative Service. The intention is to have similar courses for all other All-India Services to enable civil servants of different categories working in various fields to get better acquainted with the thinking of the Government.

It was felt that there was greater need for this periodic orientation in the case of foreign service officers serving abroad, since they tend to get out of touch with Delhi. The absence of well demarcated functional responsibilities in the Ministry of External Affairs has also led to a loss of centralised direction over high policy issues.

The Indian envoys abroad are often confused by the directives they receive from different power centres and they try to play safe by avoiding or delaying decisions that should normally be taken at their level, since they do not always know what exactly they are expected to do in a particular situation. The result is a tendency to refer all issues to Delhi and await instructions, even if it meant evading responsibility and keeping important issues in abeyance.

**Streamlining procedures:** The new External Affairs Minister has started streamlining the decision-making procedures and, encouraging senior officials to render their candid advice and take responsibility for policies and actions concerning their respective domains. He is trying to establish a good working relationship at various levels of the Ministry of External Affairs so that the Ministers, Secretaries and officers in charge of territorial divisions function as a team in providing the necessary directives to the missions abroad and ensuring their proper implementation.

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CSO: 4600/1817



INDIA

PAPERS REPORT DEVELOPMENTS IN OIL EXPLORATION

Good Foreign Response

Madras THE HINDU in English 30 May 86 p 9

[Text]

NEW DELHI, May 29.

The Union Minister of Petroleum and Natural Gas, Mr. Chandra Shekhar Singh, today said the response of foreign oil companies to the terms and conditions on which the country had offered 27 offshore blocks for exploration and production of hydrocarbons was good.

Talking to newsmen, he said 71 companies took part in the presentations in conferences held earlier this month in Delhi, London and Houston, and six of them were present at more places than one. In addition, many financial institutions attended them.

Later, some of the oil companies had private meetings with the Indian delegation to obtain clarifications of the provisions of some of the terms of the offer. The provision of seismic options, the rate of return-based profit oil sharing, exploitation of gas fields, simplified taxation procedures and other liberal measures were appreciated by the participants.

The Minister said the International Finance Corporation, an affiliate of the World Bank, had stated that it would consider participation by way of equity capital in an oil company proposing to explore in the offshore areas. Other private financial institutions and banks had showed interest in the exploration on the coastline.

**Special cell:** Till now seven companies had purchased the basin data. Six others had shown interest in purchasing data packages priced at \$10,000 (Rs. 1,20,000) each. To deal with inquiries about the present offer a special cell was opened in the Ministry.

Mr. Singh said during his visit he had met several Non-Resident Indians—some of them working for foreign oil companies—interested in participating in the exploration of hydrocarbons.

The Minister contradicted reports in a section of the press that the Government was considering a cutback in the production of oil and gas. Because of the constraint of foreign exchange and other considerations the country was not in a position to curtail indigenous production.

Any strategy based on the present slump in oil prices would become irrelevant very soon. Prices were likely to firm up around \$ 20 (Rs. 240) a barrel.

About seven million tonnes of oil was programmed for import during 1986-87. The country was making spot purchases wherever possible.

Bilateral talks with those having trade agreements with the country would be held soon to finalise the quantum and price of oil and the first among them would be Iraq, he said.

15 July 1986

THE FIND OF oil and gas in the offshore area, 50 km southeast of the south Tapti gas field, is perhaps the most heartening news from the oil exploration front in recent years. If the flow of oil and gas from the first well spudded in this region is any indication, the 3500 sq. km area proposed to be delineated for determining the quantum of reserves could turn out to be a rival to Bombay High. As the yield of oil wells in the latter structure is around 2500 barrels daily along with associated gas, the fresh success in the offshore Tapti area should enable the Oil and Natural Gas Commission (ONGC) to prevent the anticipated decline in the share of domestic crude production from the onshore and offshore wells from 70 per cent to 60 per cent of the consumption by the end of the current Plan period. The exploration effort in the new promising structure should therefore be intensified though it may be difficult to achieve quick progress after the onset of the south-west monsoon. The new well planned to be drilled in the coming months should in any event be useful for assessing whether large reserves of oil and gas exist and arrangements could be made for intensified exploration in a short period, if need be on the basis of contracts with foreign firms for achieving quick results.

The reports about other finds in the Gandhar field in Gujarat and the Jaisalmer desert area in Rajasthan have also been encouraging while the Chairman of the ONGC, Col. S. P. Wahi, is hopeful that the Cauvery basin too may contain sizable reserves. On the basis of the re-

sults obtained from fresh drilling in this basin, a pipeline can be laid for transporting crude to the Madras Refinery. Since new promising structures have been located recently it will be desirable to utilise available financial resources for securing the best results out of the fresh exploration even while carrying on drilling in other areas in a limited way. It has become imperative to raise crude output substantially from indigenous sources as the yield from the existing onshore and offshore areas has reached a plateau. Crude production by the ONGC in 1985-86 was only marginally higher at 27.51 million tonnes while the target for 1986-87 has been fixed at only 27.37 million tonnes. Taking into account the contribution of Oil India too, the total output may not be more than 30.5 million tonnes in the current financial year against the requirements of oil refineries of around 45 million tonnes. There will thus have to be imports of 14.5 million tonnes of crude apart from 5 million tonnes of petroleum products for filling deficits. The quantum will rise further in 1987-88 in the absence of a significant increase in indigenous crude production. But for the sharp drop in the prices of crude and petroleum products in the spot markets the import bill would have been prohibitive. It may, of course, be much lower this year at Rs. 3,000-3,200 crores as compared to Rs. 4,500 crores in 1985-86. As oil prices have been firming up lately and internal consumption is rising by 8 per cent annually, the Government must move to maximise crude production with vigorous exploration in the newly detected offshore and onshore structures.

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INDIA

INDIAN LIBERALIZATION MAY ATTRACT KUWAIT INVESTMENT

Madras THE HINDU in English 19 May 87 p 7

[Article by F.J. Khergamvala]

[Text]

BAHRAIN, May 18.

Kuwait has taken a policy decision to review the spread of its foreign assets, at last count a massive \$80 billions, and may transfer a portion to developing countries and centrally planned economies.

Specifically cited for particular attention were China, India, the USSR, Turkey and the Republic of Korea (South Korea). A prepared statement to this effect was made in Kuwait's National Assembly last Tuesday by the Finance Minister. Mr. Jassim Mohammed-al-Khorafi who, it is said, 'is to finance what Sheikh Ahmed Zaki Yamani (of Saudi Arabia) is to oil'. Egypt, where Kuwaiti money is already invested, also figures prominently on the preference list.

Mr. Khorafi confirmed speculation on this account, building up since a major address to 600 businessmen at a recent Arab businessmen and investors seminar by the chairman of the Kuwait's chamber of commerce and thereafter by the secretary-general of OAPC (the Organisation for Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries) and the Governor of the Central Bank of Kuwait.

**Safer pastures:** The Government has been under pressure in the Assembly to lessen holdings in politically risk-prone areas, especially the U.S. after it froze Libyan assets—and earlier those of Iran—to allow room for political and financial manoeuvre. However, this is not believed to be the sole reason for policy re-orientation which, according to the Minister, took this factor into account.

Nearly \$14.7 billions of Kuwaiti holdings are in the U.S., and substantial chunks of the residue invested in a wide range of firms in western Europe and Japan. This includes an island off the South Carolina coast and a 14 per cent stake in the luxury car-maker Daimler, in addition to owning a quarter of Hoechst, the chemicals giant—a far cry from the tiny trading post the sheikhdom was only two decades ago. Its

\$80 billions form a major part of total Gulf foreign investments of \$205 billions, only \$10 billions less than Saudi holdings, at the end of 1985.

**Oil revenues fall:** The major rationale for Kuwait's policy review is the sharp decline in the national income due to the slump in oil revenues which, according to official projections, are expected to drop by 38 per cent in fiscal 1985-86. Until recently, oil made up 90 per cent of Kuwait's national income.

There is an urgent need to supplement oil revenues with income from investments. The immunity that Kuwait enjoys by virtue of this income is proved by the fact that in fiscal 1984-85, the overall balance of revenues and expenditure, excluding investment income, indicated a deficit of over \$1.53 billions. This was more than offset by the annual investment income of nearly \$4 billions, leaving a healthy net surplus of over \$2 billions.

There has been no substantial outflow of capital despite the Gulf war only nine km. away. The outgo has been mainly in search of attractive interest rates on dollar deposits. However, a political and economic reappraisal of the situation indicated a greater chance of capital outflow in future. The policy review is intended to channel this anticipated increase in foreign investment as well as to re-direct present holdings. As if to signal its intention further, the same day Kuwait sold its stake in a West German firm, sparking rumours that it is divesting itself of most of its shares in Germany.

**Liberalisation does the trick:** It therefore stands to reason that before selecting equally productive alternate avenues for investment, Kuwaiti studies should establish their viability in terms of political risk factors, availability of higher technology and the investment climate in general. Liberalisation in investment regulations and conditions in India over the past few months have undoubtedly contributed to Kuwait's decision to select India.

Nearly two years ago, India allowed investors from oil exporting developing countries to inject up to 40 per cent equity even in portfolio investments provided the new companies were export-oriented, even though the investors were unable to infuse the venture with high technology.

As regards India, matters have progressed very quickly and the Indian embassy and the regional India Investment Centre in Abu Dhabi is organising a visit to India this September, of an all-important mixed delegation comprising representatives of more than half-a-dozen umbrella organisations controlling and managing Kuwaiti private and Government investment abroad.

Each of them, such as the Kuwait Investment Authority and the Kuwait Investment Corporation is charged with specific areas such as bank-run portfolios, equity holdings in industrial ventures, participation in upstream energy exploitation and the like.

The programme, composition of the delegation and other details, is still in the works, and a great deal of homework is under way on the Indian side to ensure that meaningful proposals for follow-up emerge from the visit, rather than mere abstract formulations. The Indian Ambassador in Kuwait, Mr. N. N. Jha, is himself in the thick of it, trying to marry the aspirations of the Kuwaitis with India's requirements, within the ambit of prevalent regulations, subject to certain flexibilities.

**30 groups identified:** India has already identified 30 groups of industries for foreign participation in addition to expected Kuwaiti interest in hotels and hospitals. These include the automobile and auto ancillaries industry, machinery and machine tools, electronics equipment and components, fertilizers and 15 different types of chemicals, paper and glass industries. However, in fields where Gulf investors can introduce high technology, the areas for investment are much wider.

The discussions in India will be wide-ranging, according to Mr. Madhukar Gupta, regional director of the India Investment Centre, who told THE HINDU that various permutations regarding the harnessing of financial resources, technology and manpower would be examined and the most effective in each case would be decided.

For instance, in certain areas higher technology may be available in India, but Gulf finance would be needed. In other cases, a third source could be tapped with the help of the global

market knowledge of some Kuwaiti investors. Not excluded from consideration would be ventures in third countries. India is involved in 250 such projects.

**Assistance for investors:** One of the possibilities being considered is the creation of a joint investment company that would seek new avenues for investment, locate a source for technology and finance and proceed with approvals, etc. Apart from institutional investments, individual Gulf investors will be assisted in channelising their resources through the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry. In fact, according to an Indian diplomat in Kuwait, a Kuwait chamber delegation's visit is being arranged in response to an invitation by the former FICCI president, Mr. K. N. Modi, who visited Kuwait earlier this year.

There is an acute awareness on India's part that a few successful models can have a snowballing effect throughout the Gulf in future. Hence the entire subject is vested with a dimension that goes beyond India-Kuwait relations.

**Need to modify procedures:** To be sure, the competition for Kuwait's financial affections will be very stiff and yardsticks applied for decision-making for non-resident Indian investors may need modifications to suit the understandable impatience of large volume investors. It is nobody's case that India should emulate each condition applied in similar favourable climes. But there may be advantages in looking at the Egyptian picture, for example, and selectively considering advantages offered, especially as Egypt is already home to large doses of Arab, including Kuwaiti, investments, through its 'infitah' (open door policy).

Notwithstanding certain clauses in the well known Law 43, of this policy that India has ruled out, measures such as the creation of a special section in the Prime Minister's office in Egypt to facilitate investments reflect the high degree of keenness as does the proposed time ceiling on decision-making on investment proposals. In the preliminary stages, Kuwaiti businessmen were reported to have cited Egypt's example to Indian officials, until a survey report on 30 recent successful cases of collaboration with the U.S. was shown to the Kuwaitis as evidence of a favourable climate. They were also surprised to learn of 9,000 projects with foreign collaboration in India.

**Head start:** China too has a head start in dealing with Kuwaiti investments, especially in the oil and gas sectors where a Chinese Arab petro-chemicals industry co-exists.

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CSO: 4600/1810

INDIA

PAPERS REPORT ON ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGES

Reconstituted Cabinet Panels

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 14 May 86 p 1

[Text]

**NEW DELHI, May 13.—The Prime Minister has reconstituted the Political Affairs and Economic Affairs Committees of the Union Cabinet, following yesterday's reshuffle, reports UNI.**

Besides the Prime Minister, the Political Affairs Committee will comprise the Human Resources Development Minister, Mr P. V. Narasimha Rao, the Finance Minister, Mr Vishwanath Pratap Singh, the Home Minister, Mr Buta Singh and the External Affairs Minister, Mr P. Shiv Shankar.

The Economic Affairs Committee has been enlarged and will now consist of seven members, including Mr Gandhi. The others are Mr Narasimha Rao, Mr V. P. Singh, Mr Shiv Shankar, the Transport Minister, Mr Bansi Lal, the Industry Minister, Mr N. D. Tiwari, and the Agriculture Minister, Mr G. S. Dhillon.

The reconstituted Economic Affairs Committee had its first meeting yesterday evening with the Prime Minister in the chair and reviewed the price situation in the country, it is learnt. The meeting considered the impact of administered prices on the inflationary situation. It is reported to have considered the idea of the Government presenting a policy paper on administered prices.

The Government is of the view that when all other prices are changing some changes in administered prices too are necessary and inevitable. The endeavour should be to stabilize the prices of critical commodities as far as possible.



New Delhi PATRIOT in English 28 May 86 p 1

[Text]

The Government has appointed six experts from the private sector to monitor the implementation of Central projects, remove bottlenecks and evolve methods for their completion on schedule, Minister for Programme Implementation A B A Ghani Khan Choudhuri announced in New Delhi on Tuesday.

The six, to be headed by Mr Ratan Tata, the chairman of the Tata group of industries, will form a national advisory council to be attached to Mr Ghani Khan's ministry.

Other members of the advisory council are outgoing president of ASSOCHAM S P Acharva, the president-elect of the same organisation Dhruv Soni, managing director of Ranbaxy group Parminder Singh, Mr A K Khosla and Mr Mritunjay Atreya.

Another advisory council to advise the ministry for better implementation of the crucial 20-Point Programme is to be formed soon, Mr Ghani Khan said and hoped that this would help in ensuring that the programme would

benefit the poorer sections of the people for whom it was meant. However, the minister did not give any indications as to who were being considered for this council.

Mr Ghani Khan hoped that the Council on Central projects would be able to give valuable advice to his ministry on the speedy implementation of projects. He defended the introduction of people from the private sector by saying that the Government felt that it should benefit from the experience of these people who all had considerable achievements in the field of industries.

The minister said that delayed projects were costing the Government dearly in terms of escalation. He confided that more than Rs 56,000 crore were locked up in about 200 Central projects each costing Rs 20 crore or more. One hundred and eight of these projects, with an original estimated cost of Rs 24,803 crore had been inordinately delayed and their cost had now gone up to Rs 43,154 crore, an escalation of 74 per cent.

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CSO: 4600/1817

INDIA

## CONGRESS-I SAID PLANNING CHIEF MINISTER CHANGES

Madras THE HINDU in English 19 May 86 p 9

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, May 18.

As a follow up to the latest Cabinet reshuffle at the Centre, an exercise is going on at the party level to assess the performance of the Congress (I) Chief Ministers in several States with a view to changing some of them in stages.

It is common knowledge in Delhi that the Central leadership is disappointed with the functioning of the present Chief Ministers in the Hindi heartland, which is the main Congress (I) base at present.

There is some talk in high party circles that, either before or after the monsoon session of Parliament, at least one and possibly two Central Ministers might be sent to their home States to replace the present Chief Ministers and put some new life into the administration. This would give the Prime Minister an opportunity to go in for some more changes in the Central Cabinet, as hinted by him during the recent reshuffle-cum-expansion.

**Power base getting eroded:** What is apparently worrying Mr. Rajiv Gandhi now is that, though the party is well entrenched at the Centre with its massive majority in Parliament, the Congress (I)'s power base is getting eroded in the States as a result of factional politics and the coming party elections will only sharpen the personal rivalries leading to further loss of prestige.

At present the Congress (I) is in power in U.P., Bihar, M.P., Orissa, Rajasthan, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh and Sikkim, while the party is in opposition in Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, West Bengal, Tripura, Punjab, Jammu and Kashmir, Assam and some of the other north-eastern States.

**Progressive deterioration:** A rather strange feature of the Congress (I)'s power structure is that, though their personal loyalty to Mr. Rajiv Gandhi is above question, some of his close confidants continue to dabble in the factional politics of their home States, pulling wires from Delhi and often using the Prime Minister's name

to either undermine the position of the present Chief Ministers or extend support even in undeserving cases. The result is a progressive deterioration of the administration leading in turn to a further decline of the Congress (I)'s prestige.

This growing disarray within the ruling party is being attributed by some of his senior colleagues to the absence of proper communication between the Prime Minister in his concurrent capacity as Congress (I) president and the Chief Ministers, who are also party bosses in many of the States. There is no way of evaluating the ability, integrity and performance of these Chief Ministers except on the basis of subjective assessments made by his advisers or reports received through other sources.

**Malaise much deeper:** The mere replacement of a few Chief Ministers is not going to improve the political climate in many States with badly rundown administrations paralysed by poor leadership and rampant corruption. The malaise is much deeper and without a proper shake-up at all levels it is not possible to improve the quality of the Congress (I)-run State Governments.

One of the first tasks of the Prime Minister on his return to Delhi tomorrow morning from his Southern African tour is to attend to Mr. Kamalapati Tripathi's second letter to him. Mr. Tripathi has urged Mr. Rajiv Gandhi to rescind the disciplinary actions taken against Mr. Pranab Mukherjee, Mr. A. P. Sharma, Mr. Sripat Mishra and Mr. Prakash Mehrotra who had recently criticised his style of leadership without raising any banner of revolt.

As the working president, Mr. Tripathi is finding himself placed in a highly embarrassing position by these developments. The fact that Mr. Rajiv Gandhi has tried to mollify him, while taking swift action against the other four, has undermined his credibility without strengthening his role in the party organisation.

And if any changes are to be made in Uttar Pradesh, he would want to be consulted in advance about the choice of the new Chief Minister and not merely told after the decision had been taken by others.

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CSO: 4600/1810

INDIA

## TAMIL NADU TO ABOLISH LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 15 May 86 p 9

[Text]

MADRAS, May 14 (PTI).

**T**HE Tamil Nadu assembly today passed a government resolution to abolish the state's 65-year-old legislative council, with the finance minister and the leader of the house, Mr. V. R. Nedunchezhiyan, stating that 'there is no need for an upper house'.

While 136 MLA's voted for the resolution, including those of the ruling AIADMK, CPM, RPI and AIFB, 25 members belonging to the DMK, CPI, Janata and Indian Union Muslim League voted against it.

The 62 Congress MLA's abstained from voting, thus enabling the AIADMK to muster the support of two-thirds of the members present and voting. Mr. N. S. V. Chithan (Congress) made out a case for abolition, but said such a course of action would not be right in the 'prevailing situation'.

### OLDEST IN COUNTRY

The Tamil Nadu upper house is the the oldest in country.

Congress sources explained the party's abstention saying that the high command decision on the abolition

issue had not been conveyed to the party here.

Mr. Nedunchezhiyan, who moved the resolution on behalf of the chief minister, Mr. M. G. Ramachandran, denied the DMK charge that the move was intended to prevent the DMK from gaining ground in the council with the induction of local bodies representatives next month to fill the 20 vacant seats. Nor did the AIADMK wish to prevent the DMK president, Mr. M. Karunanidhi, from using the house as a forum against the government.

The AIADMK, he said, was the biggest loser by the abolition as it had a majority in the council.

Mr. Nedunchezhiyan said it was not mandatory for a state to have a council. Only six states, including Tamil Nadu, had an upper house. Teachers and graduates, who had seats in the council here, had adequate representation in the assembly.

Three ministers—Messrs. R. M. Veerappan, Dr. H. V. Hande and Mr. Y. S. M. Yusuf—the AIADMK general secretary, Mr. S. Raghavandam and the deputy general secretary, Mr. S. R. Eradha, and the DMK president, Mr. M. Karunanidhi, are all members of the Tamil Nadu upper house.

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CSO: 4600/1807

15 July 1986

INDIA

## PAPER INTERVIEWS PUNJAB CHIEF MINISTER

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 31 May 86 p 8

[Interview with Surjit Singh Barnala, chief minister of Punjab, with Sanjeev Gaur on May 21 in Chandigarh]

[Text]

**Q:** After the April 30 police action in the Golden Temple some Akali leaders, including Mr Sukhjinder Singh have compared you with Mrs Gandhi. One youth-wing Akali leader, Mr Sher Singh, while addressing a recent public meeting, organised by the dissidents, went to the extent of saying that you would meet the same fate which befell Mrs Gandhi. What do you feel about this?

**A:** Such comments only show how frustrated they (the dissidents) are. There can be no comparison between Operation Bluestar and the April 30 operation. This operation was meant only to cleanse the holy place. My detractors, who are campaigning against me today, did not dare to go into the Golden Temple to offer prayers till we freed the place of the undesirable elements. In fact, these very people who are opposing me now, were earlier telling me to take some stern action against the elements staying in the Golden Temple. Ultimately I was left with no alternative.

**Q:** But even Justice Ajit Singh Bains, a former judge of the Punjab and Haryana high court, who was also addressing the same meeting, commented that none who attacked the Golden Temple was ever forgiven by the Sikhs.

**A:** This man has never been to the Golden Temple. He does not believe in religion either. He has leftist leanings. He does not understand Sikh traditions. It is unfortunate that a person who retired as a judge of the high court should utter such things without ever visiting the Golden Temple, without going to the guru and without reciting the Gurbani.

**Q:** Why did you appear before the Akal Takht?

**A:** I was called by the Akal Takht and, therefore, I appeared there as a devout Sikh.

**Q:** Girilal Jain of The Times of India has strongly criticised you for appearing before the Akal Takht. What do you feel about it?

**A:** Girilal Jain has his own views. He does not understand the Punjab situation. He is not conversant with Sikh traditions. He has always been anti-Sikh and anti-Akali. He has always hurt us. He has his own peculiar way of thinking. He does not understand the Punjab situation at all.

**Q:** But don't you think that by appearing before the Akal Takht you have made the office of the chief minister answerable to a religious authority which is not recognised by the Indian Constitution?

**A:** It is not like that. Even the Prime Minister heads both the party as well as the govern-

ment. I am the president of the Akali Dal as well as the chief minister. Besides, as a Sikh I have some responsibility. The order of the Akal Takht, which is the highest seat of authority of Sikhs, is binding on every devout Sikh and I am a devout Sikh.

**Q:** After your appearance before the Akal Takht the dissident Akali leaders, including Mr Badal and Mr Sukhjinder Singh have demanded your resignation, both from the post of party chief as well as that of the chief minister.

**A:** My appearance before the Akal Takht has nothing to do with my resignation. The high priests called me to explain why I sent the police inside the Golden Temple. I explained that a minor action had been carried out to weed out undesirable elements from the Golden Temple. My detractors have only political motives and they are trying to use religion against me. But now the people have also started realising that these people who are campaigning against us are just power hungry men.

**Q:** But the 'hukamnama' issued against you by the Akal Takht does mention that you hurt Sikh sentiments by sending the police into the Golden Temple.

**A:** The 'hukamnama' is very clear. It does not say that I am guilty or I committed any mistake. The high priests did not

award me any punishment. They asked me to do 'sewa' Under the Sikh tradition 'sewa' is considered to be an atonement.

*Q: There is a feeling in political circles that your appearance before the Akal Takht was stage-managed.*

A: You can't stage-manage things with the Akal Takht.

*Q: Do you feel the April 30 police action in the Golden Temple was a political blunder?*

A: Not taking any action at that time would have been a bigger sin against the Sikh community, and also the entire nation. It was quite a painful action for me to order, I decided on the course of action after great deliberation with myself.

*Q: Another charge against you is that you acted on the orders of the Prime Minister when you organised the police operation.*

A: This is a false charge. The decision was purely my own. I decided to act because I thought that it was in the best interest of the Sikh community as well as the nation to send the police to the Golden Temple to flush out the undesirable elements.

*Q: But the police action did create ripples in the party, which was followed by a split in the Akali Dal Legislature Party, with Mr Badal and company forming a separate group. Now there is a strong feeling in political circles in Punjab that you won't be able to run the government without the support of the Congress(I).*

A: This is not the case. Many Akali leaders, including MLAs, have now started realising that the dissidents are only trying to fan communal feelings by exploiting religion. Many of them who joined the dissidents are now realising their mistake and want to return to the parent party.

*Q: How many MLAs do you expect will return to your fold?*

A: About 10 to 12.

*Q: Why did you not take the Cabinet into confidence about your decision to send the police into the Golden Temple?*

A: I did not specifically tell my Cabinet colleagues that the police was entering the Golden Temple. But before the police

entry we did hold a meeting of the Cabinet in which the announcement of Khalistan, made the previous day, was strongly condemned and very strong words were used against the people who had declared Khalistan. They were called murderers and criminals. A resolution was also passed to firmly deal with those elements. It was also resolved that we must fight to the finish to crush these elements. But I did not convey the timings etc. to the Cabinet.

*Q: Coming back to the split in the party, why did the 27 MLAs, led by Mr Parkash Singh Badal, leave you after the police action?*

A: The main reason was political. They are power-hungry men. They were feeling frustrated and so they left.

*Q: But why did the Cabinet decide to remove the Speaker, Mr Ravi Inder Singh?*

A: Because it was revealed to us that conspiracies were being hatched at his residence. Even this office was being used for the same purpose again and again. He was using the office of the Speaker in trying to encourage defections from the party. Some of his actions were illegal as well. As a Speaker he should act impartially and his conduct should be above board.

*Q: Don't you think the migration of Hindu Punjabis from villages in Amritsar and Gurdaspur districts to Haryana is a dangerous trend? Don't you feel that the police operation failed to curb terrorism?*

A: It is unfortunate that some senior Akali leaders who are opposing us have now started supporting the terrorists. Obviously this has caused fear among the minority communities in Punjab.

*Q: But basically it is the failure of the police in not acting firmly against the terrorists, that has bred the sense of insecurity amongst minority communities in Punjab.*

According to reports received from village Fatehabad in Amritsar district from where many Hindu-Punjabi families have migrated to Haryana, the terrorists had been roaming about freely in the village, threatening Hindus, putting up hit lists in the market and pasting posters on walls in the Bazars, which exhorted Hindus to leave Punjab within three years. Yet, the police did nothing to curb these antisocial activities.

A: No, many of your observations are wrong. Terrorism is not a new phenomenon. It has been there in Punjab for a long time now. Even when the Army was present in the state after Operation Bluestar, terrorism was not fully crushed. The terrorists were in hiding.

Such conditions also prevail in other parts of the country too. For example from Delhi's Boat Club certain very provocative things were said against the Sikhs which should not have been said. In Lucknow very provocative posters against Sikhs were put up and neither the Centre nor the Uttar Pradesh state government have so far found out who were the people who drafted and printed the posters. So, you can't say that the police in Punjab has failed. They are doing their job well. The people who have left certain Punjab villages are not very large in number. And, they don't intend to leave Punjab for good. They will go back to their villages when conditions improve.

I sent two of my Cabinet colleagues to Karnal to meet the migrants and persuade them to return to their villages. Again another team headed by the state financial commissioner went to Karnal for the same purpose. I am sure after some time these people will return to their respective villages.

*Q: Don't you agree that it is the design of the terrorists to create circumstances which would compel Hindus to leave Punjab, thereby resulting in a backlash against Sikhs in other states, so that they would migrate back to Punjab. Thus,*



*Khalistan will be created automatically.*

A: I agree that this is the nefarious design of the terrorists. Today, not only Punjab, but the whole nation has to fight against terrorism. Every state in the country has a significant role to play. I have also

written to my counterparts in other states to take all necessary steps to restore the confidence of Sikhs living there, so that they should feel that not only Punjab but the entire country is their home.

Q: *What is the role of the Union government in curbing terrorism and restoring normalcy in Punjab?*

A: The only help the Centre can render is to seal the entire Pakistan border. There are confirmed terrorists taking refuge in Pakistan. They also get arms and sneak into Punjab and organise terrorist violence in the state.

Q: *But has not the delay in implementation of the Punjab accord also aggravated the situation and encouraged terrorism?*

A: This is also an important factor to be kept in mind. The non-implementation of the accord has put us in a very awkward situation. For example, Chandigarh was to be given to Punjab on January 26, but it was not transferred. The delay in transfer of Chandigarh caused apprehensions in the mind of every Punjabi about the Union government's willingness to fulfil its obligations towards Punjab. Every Punjabi is feeling hurt. The terrorists also feel encouraged as a result. Now my detractors have begun a campaign saying that the Centre will give nothing to Punjab.

Q: *Do you think the Prime Minister is sincere about implementing the Punjab accord?*

A: I think he can't go back on his commitment. Especially now, when Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, the other signatory of the accord, is dead, it is the sole responsibility of the Prime Minister to see that the accord is implemented. I am sure the Prime Minister will implement

the accord. Otherwise his credibility will suffer a great setback.

Q: *And what has the Punjab government done about the release of the 370-odd detainees from the Jodhpur jail, lodged there since Operation Bluestar?*

A: At every meeting with central leaders, including the Prime Minister, we have strongly taken up the issue of the release of the Jodhpur jail detainees. Among the detainees arrested from the Golden Temple during Operation Bluestar, a majority are innocent. A number of Sant Longowal's personal attendants were also arrested. They are still in Jodhpur jail. A number of SGPC (Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee) employees are also among the detainees. There are two women among them. One of them had gone to the Temple to offer prayers with her two-month old child who was killed during the operation. All those innocent persons should be released immediately. This will help in improving the situation in Punjab.

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CSO: 4600/1820

INDIA

# BHARATIYA JANATA DRAFT ECONOMIC POLICY REPORTED

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 8 May 86 p 5

[Text]

NEW DELHI, May 7.

**T**HE draft economic policy statement of the Bharatiya Janata Party lays stress on selectivity, both in respect of general imports and import of high technology.

According to the draft to be placed before the party's plenary session beginning here from May 9, the recent advances in high technology have made it possible to use it in the service of the poor and take it to rural areas. There was no evidence of this in present government's policy, it said.

Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's policy, according to Mr. V. K. Malhotra, who briefed the press, was to open the doors wide for multinationals and use of technology for the affluent.

The BJP wants a selective import policy in sophisticated lines of production and along with it the revival of the Swadeshi spirit. The policy should be to import appropriate technology — less capital intensive in the wage goods sector and highly capital intensive in sophisticated and strategic lines.

## EXPENDITURE PANEL

Major aspects of the statement are extension of the MRTP act to state enterprises "so that the state cannot misuse its monopoly power" and appointment of an expenditure com-

mission to go into the cost escalation of various state projects.

The national executive endorsed the decision to support the Barnala government in view of the threat to the ministry for flushing out terrorists from the Golden Temple complex.

The executive was of the view that the action taken by the Barnala government served the national interest of maintaining the unity and integrity of the country.

The party was, however, not in favour of giving unconditional support to the Barnala government and, therefore, there was no question of its joining the ministry, as the Jana Sangh did in the past.

The party was highly critical of the Punjab governor, Mr. Siddharta Shankar Ray, calling a meeting of the opposition parties to "canvass support" for the Barnala government. It felt that by dabbling in political matters, the governor was setting a bad precedent.

The party vice-president, Mr. K. S. Hegde, told newsmen that although the president of the state unit, Dr. Baldev Prakash, had attended the meeting, he had conveyed to the governor in no uncertain terms that his party did not approve of the meeting of opposition leaders.

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CSO: 4600/1827

15 July 1986

INDIA

## JANATA CONVENOR FOR JANATA-LOK DAL UNITY

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 27 May 86 p 9

[Text]

MADRAS, May 26 (UNI):

**M**R. GEORGE Fernandes, convenor, national campaign committee of the Janata Party, today advocated unity between the Janata party and the Lok Dal to end the present "political stalemate" in the country.

He told a press conference here that unity between these two parties could pose a threat to the Congress, which was a dominant force "only in the Hindi heartland".

Mr. Fernandes said unless this limited unity was achieved, there was no hope for bringing about a change. He was canvassing this idea among leaders of both the parties and the response was encouraging, he added.

On the broad question of opposition unity, Mr. Fernandes said attempts were now being made to bring about a programmatic unity based on people's issues. The latest issue taken up by his party was the promulgation of ordinances, which empowered the government not to place the reports of commissions of inquiry on the table of parliament.

He said through this anti-democratic measure, the right of the people to know had been effectively curbed. The government had assumed that only the executive was the sole custodian of the

security and integrity of the country and not parliament and its elected members, he pointed out.

By not placing the report of the Thakkar Commission, which inquired into the circumstances leading to the assassination of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Mr. Fernandes alleged that the government was keen to hide "many skeletons" in its cupboard. People had a right to know the forces, which were behind the murder of Mrs. Gandhi, he said.

The Janata party had convened a meeting of opposition leaders at Delhi in the first week of June to discuss these issues, he said.

Referring to the developments in Punjab, Mr. Fernandes said the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, had lost his moral authority having failed to create confidence and end the alienation of the Sikh masses.

Replying to a question, he said the only welcome feature was that the "Khalistan" concept had no appeal among the masses.

On Sri Lanka, Mr. Fernandes urged the Centre to expose the Sri Lanka government's genocide on the Tamils, in world forums and persuade nations to apply economic sanctions against the island nation.

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CSO: 4600/1811

15 July 1986

INDIA

## AGENCY REPORTS MORE ON INFLUX OF BANGLADESH TRIBALS

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 28 May 86 p 16

[Text]

AGARTALA, May 27 (PTI).

**B**SF units along Tripura's eastern border with Bangladesh's Chittagong hill tracts have been put on maximum alert to resist any major influx of tribal refugees into the state, according to official sources today.

Over 5,000 tribals, mostly from Panchari areas, where fresh riots had broken out on May 21, are seeking an opportunity to infiltrate into south Tripura.

Official sources said that two Bangladesh army personnel were killed and three seriously injured in an ambush by Shanti Bahini guerillas at Golakpratimacherra near Fulhap village under Panchari police station last Wednesday.

Irate army men and Muslim resettlers, the sources said, attacked the tribal-predominant Fulhap village the same night and set fire to several houses. Four tribals were gunned down while over 20 were maimed following severe torture lasting over 48 hours.

Eight tribal women were raped by the soldiers and the settlers over and over again. They were now in Indian territory after they were brought to South Tripura's Raisyabari area in an unconscious condition.

On the same day, Bangladesh army personnel also burnt down Pujgangmukh and P. Unipara — two villages under Panchari police station —

and severely tortured the 30-odd villagers.

The soldiers gunned down the son of the local chieftain, Lambu Karbari. Three other tribals were maimed by personnel of the 19th Bengal regiment at Birkumarpara.

Several other villages were reportedly burnt down and the inhabitants tortured by the Bangladesh soldiers in the Panchari-Khagracherri area after Shanti Bahini guerillas killed four Bangladeshi soldiers and injured over 20 in a daring mid-day raid in the heart of the district headquarters town of Khagracherri on May 17 last.

The guerillas lobbed grenades on an armoured personnel carrier and followed up the attack by charging into the fleeing soldiers. The guerillas, however, retreated before additional reinforcements reached.

Sources also said that over 45 resettler Muslims were killed when the Shanti Bahini guerillas stormed two settler colonies at Kabakhali and Natunbazar, within 2 km. of the Dighinala cantonment, in Khagracherri district on May 18.

More than 70 resettlers were seriously injured in the attack as Shanti Bahini guerillas fired indiscriminately on the panic-stricken farmers.

It is said that the growing intensity of the Shanti Bahini raids and retaliatory attacks by Bangladesh security men and Muslim resettlers had created "near-total instability" in the Chittagong hill tracts.

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CSO: 4600/1822

INDIA

ARMY REPLACES BORDER TROOPS ON JAMMU, KASHMIR BORDER

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 27 May 86 p 4

[Text]

Srinagar, May 26: The Army has replaced the Border Security Force (BSF) along the 725-km long line of actual control in Jammu and Kashmir.

Reliable sources said here today that the withdrawal of the paramilitary forces and their replacement by the Army began three days back and was almost complete except in some remote border areas which have remained cut off due to fresh snowfall and avalanches. The number of Armymen being deployed is, not known.

Sources said since the formation of the BSF 21 years ago, this was the first time that it had been replaced by the Army along the Jammu and Kashmir border. The measure is believed to have been taken to deploy more paramilitary forces in trouble-torn Punjab.

The tension in the state has been mounting for some time, particularly in the wake of the intermittent skirmishes between Indian and Pakistani forces in the Siachen glacier. Last week fresh clashes were reported from the area.

In Poonch and Tangdar sectors exchanges of fire were reported recently in which five Indian and Pakistani soldiers were killed. The Army detachments in Ladakh have also been strengthened.

Meanwhile, the Union minister for internal security, Mr Arun Nehru, held a series of meetings with senior police and military officials since his arrival in Srinagar yesterday on a three-day state visit.

The President, Mr Zail Singh, is also arriving here on Wednesday on a private visit, to Pahalgam, the famous health resort in the Kashmir valley.

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CSO: 4600/1812



15 July 1986

## INDIA

## BRIEFS

INVITATION TO PAKISTAN--New York, May 31--Pakistan has invited an Indian parliamentary delegation to visit that country, reports PTI. Mr Zain Noorani, Pakistan's Minister of State for Foreign Affairs made the suggestion about the visit to Mr K.R. Narayanan, his Indian counterpart, when they met here yesterday. The two Ministers are here for the special U.N. session on the critical economic situation in Africa. [Text] [Calcutta THE SUNDAY STATESMAN in English 1 Jun 86 p 5] /9317

RELIGIOUS LEADER DIES--Amritsar, May 30--The nonagenarian Sikh religious leader Baba Kharak Singh, died in hospital here early today after a prolonged illness, reports UNI. He was 93. His body was taken in a procession from the hospital to his headquarters, Gurdwara Bir Baba Budha Sahib, the Golden Temple and other historical gurdwaras on the way, adds PTI. Offices of the SGPC, Golden Temple and Sikh political parties remained closed in his memory. Many Sikh leaders, organizations and the Sant Samaj have expressed shock over his death. The Baba was cremated with full State honours at Bir Baba Bueha, about 20 km from here, this afternoon. Baba Darshan Singh, successor of the 93-year-old Baba, lit the funeral pyre amid the chanting of hymns from holy scriptures. A contingent of the Punjab Police reversed arms and gave a gun-salute to the departed leader popularly known as "Baba Karsevawale." [Text] [Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 31 May 86 p 1] /9317

BORDER ID CARDS--Ahmedabad, May 29--The first-ever ground level initiatives towards issuing identity cards to residents of the border regions of Rajasthan are to commence only some time after the monsoon sets in the western regions of the State. Though the State is keen on issuing the identity cards, substantial movement of people from rural areas in the western regions due to the prevailing crippling drought is delaying the process. The prevailing view is that the all important survey to profile the residents as a prelude to the issue of the cards to them can be carried out only after the residents who have temporarily migrated in search of jobs or with their cattle in search of fodder, return to their habitats. This survey can be conclusive only when the real status of the residents are determined as it cannot be done in their absence. While Rajasthan is committed--as is Gujarat, its southern neighbour--to covering the entire revenue districts strung along the indo-Pakistan border, the issue of cards in the initial stages in Rajasthan will be confined to four

taluks. The intent is to carry out the task in stages, avoiding mistakes as the task is awesome. The four taluks that will be surveyed in Rajasthan after the monsoon are: Nachana of Jaisalmer district, Pugal of Bikaner district, Chouthan of Barmer district and Karanpur of Ganganagar district. The intent as often conveyed, is to arrest the influx of any illegal persons from across the Indo-Pakistan border. [Text] [Madras THE HINDU in English 30 May 86 p 6] /9317

ANDHRA PRADESH CABINET--Hyderabad, May 14--With the addition of five Ministers of State, the strength of the N.T. Rama Rao Cabinet in Andhra Pradesh increased to 29 today. There are 15 Cabinet Ministers and 14 Ministers of State now. The new Ministers of State--Mrs Patti Manemma, Mr H.B. Narse Gowd, Mr Mottukpalley Narasimhulu, Mr Mukku Kasi Reddy and Mr Tummala Nageswara Rao--were sworn in by the Governor, Mrs Kumudben Joshi, at the Raj Bhavan here this afternoon. It was the first occasion for Mrs Joshi to swear in and administer the oaths of office and secrecy to a set of Ministers. Dr Shankar Dayal Sharma was the Governor when Mr Rama Rao's Cabinet was sworn in in March 1985 after the mid-term elections. The Governor committed a faux pas in that while administering the oath of office and secrecy, she omitted the words "do swear in the name of God" or "solemnly affirm" for all the five Ministers. She instead said "I," waited for the Minister to give her/his name, and continued "that I will..." However, all the Ministers who took the oath in Telugu and in the name of God, swore correctly. Mr Rama Rao has proved all speculators wrong. His son-in-law, Dr Venkateswara Rao was strongly tipped to become a Minister. It was also said that Mr Rama Rao's lucky number was nine and that he would only increase the strength of his Cabinet from 24 to 27 so that the two figures in the number 27 add up to 9. [Text] [Madras THE HINDU in English 15 May 86 p 9] /9317

GLOBAL TRADE PACT--New Delhi, May 31--India has joined 48 other countries in signing an agreement to establish a Global System of trade preferences (GSTP, the Union finance minister, Mr V.P. Singh, told newsmen here today.) The first round of negotiations will be held in Geneva from January 1. Mr Singh, who chaired the ministerial meeting of the negotiating committee in Brasilia last week said the GSTP marked a major breakthrough in South-South cooperation as for the first time a legal framework had been worked out to encourage trade among developing nations. The GSTP is sponsored by the Group of 77 and a preparatory meeting was held in New Delhi last year at India's initiative. [Text] [Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 1 Jun 86 p 4] /9317

ASSAM CABINET CHANGES--Guwahati, May 28 (PTI)--In a major expansion and reshuffle today of the five-month-old Assam Gana Parishad (AGP) ministry in Assam, headed by Mr Prafulla Kumar Mahanta, 12 new ministers were inducted and one minister of state was dropped. The strength of the ministry has gone up to 32 with 19 Cabinet ministers and 13 ministers of state. Announcing the reallocation of portfolios after the swearing in ceremony of the 12 ministers here, Mr Mahanta said the portfolio of almost every minister was reshuffled. He said the expansion was effected to provide representation to various interests. Mr Biraj Sarma, one of the

signatories of the Assam accord and a surprise exclusion from the Mahanta Cabinet formed after the December 1985 Assembly polls will be the new food and civil supplies minister. "He was one of the signatories of the accord and an important members and therefore had to be accommodated," the home minister, Mr Bhrigu Phukan, said. "He should have been included much earlier," added another minister. Asked why the minister of state, Mr Moti Das was dropped, the chief minister said Mr Das would be entrusted with organisational work. [Text] [Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 29 May 86 p 1] /9317

ARUN NEHRU ILLNESS--Srinagar, May 27 (UNI)--The condition of the Union minister of state for internal security, Mr Arun Nehru, who suffered a heart attack here today, was described as "stable." Dr Manchanda, associate professor in the All-India Institute of Medical Sciences, New Delhi, flew in here this afternoon to attend on Mr Nehru. Hospital sources ruled out shifting of Mr Nehru to Delhi for the time being. Mr Nehru, presently on a four-day visit, suffered a heart attack this morning and was immediately taken to the intensive cardiac care unit of the Sher-i-Kashmir Institute of Medical Sciences near here. [Text] [Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 28 May 86 p 1] /9317

INDO-SOVIET COOPERATION--New Delhi, May 26--The Soviet state committee for science and technology (GKNT) will for the first time sign an umbrella agreement with an Indian industry association. The five-year agreement, to be signed with the Association of Indian Engineering Industry (AIEI), will open up opportunities for joint research and development projects and for transfer of technology. The two organisations would exchange delegations of specialists, exchange scientific and technical information and would promote scientific and technical research at the unit level. In case of need for acquisition of production techniques, technological processes, licences for equipment and know-how, necessary agreement would be signed between the corresponding foreign trade organisations and AIEI or its members. The AIEI is sending an industrial team led by its president Mr K.N. Shenoy to the Soviet Union to sign the agreement. In 1985 the AIEI and the USSR chamber of commerce and industry signed an agreement of co-operation as a result of which the AIEI is now opening an office in Moscow. This fifth overseas office of the AIEI will be opened on June 1. It will help individual Indian companies to establish links with their Soviet counterparts. Indo-Soviet trade has been expanding consistently over the years. During 1984-85, Indian exports to the USSR were placed at Rs 1,635 crores while imports were placed at Rs 1,740 crores. The new five-year trade plan agreement anticipates a doubling of trade in 1986-90 over 1981-85 to between Rs 26,000 crores and Rs 34,000 crores. [Text] [Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 27 May 86 p 7] /9317

FORMER MINISTER DIES--Hyderabad, May 18--Dr K.L. Rao, former Union minister for irrigation and power and an internationally recognised authority on dams, died in his sleep here early this morning. He was 84. The Andhra Pradesh government has ordered a state funeral. His body will be taken to Vijayawada tomorrow and cremated on Tuesday.

The chief minister, Mr N.T. Rama Rao, some ministers and many admirers and friends called at Dr Rao's residence to pay their last respects. He is survived by his wife, three daughters and two sons. As minister in charge of irrigation and power for more than ten years and earlier, as a member of the central water and power commission, Dr Kanuru Lakshmana Rao was associated with the designing of most of the major irrigation dam and power projects. He had represented Vijayawada in the Lok Sabha for three terms as a member of the Congress Party. UNI and PTI add: Dr Rao, who designed the Nagarjuna Sagar project, was awarded the Padmabhushan in the sixties. [Text] [Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 19 May 86 p 1] /9317

VISITORS TO BEIJING--Tokyo, May 29--Mr Wei Jianxing, head of the Organisational Department of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, yesterday met in Beijing a five-member party workers' delegation of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) which is now visiting China. Later, Mr Wei hosted a dinner for the CPI (M) group. The delegation, led by Mr Sunil Moitra, member of the party Central Committee, arrived in Beijing on May 23 at the invitation of the International Liaison Department of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, according to the Xinhua news agency. [Text] [Madras THE HINDU in English 31 May 86 p 9] /9317

CSO: 4600/1818

IRAN

RELATIONS WITH FRANCE REPORTEDLY BEST SINCE 1981

Paris LE MONDE in French 24 May 86 pp 1, 5

[Article by Alain Frachon; first two paragraphs are LE MONDE introduction]

[Text] Iranian Deputy Prime Minister Moayeri returned to Tehran this Friday, 23 May, following a 2-day visit to Paris which he described as "positive." He touched briefly on the matter of the hostages, repeating that his country was "not involved" but promising that it would "use its influence" on behalf of their release. Paris is currently emphasizing its efforts to bring the matter to a conclusion. Late Thursday evening, Channel 2 received color photographs--supplied to it through the Office of the Prime Minister--of its four correspondents who have been held prisoner since 8 March as well as brief letters in their handwriting saying only that they were "in good health."

On Thursday night, Chirac spoke by telephone with President Assad. According to JANA, the Syrian press agency, they discussed "bilateral relations," to be sure, but also "other issues"--probably an allusion to the hostage affair.

The Iranian deputy prime minister, Ali Reza Moayeri, ended his visit to Paris on Thursday 22 May. Did that visit really mark the start of a dialogue making it possible to foresee an imminent "normalization" of relations between France and Iran? The greatest caution is essential pending a conclusion. It is true that the French and Iranians vied with each in politeness during this visit. In a way, Paris had rolled out the red carpet for Moayeri. The latter was received by Mitterrand and Chirac, by the speaker of the National Assembly, Chaban-Delmas, and by Minister of Foreign Affairs Jean-Bernard Raimond.

There is unquestionably a new atmosphere, considering that relations between the two countries have frequently come to the brink of being broken off since 1981. But basically, very few concessions seem to have been made by either side--as far as one can judge from the public statements by those concerned.

At a luncheon before the diplomatic press on Thursday, for example, Chirac said very bluntly that "as regards the conflict between Iran and Iraq, France can consider itself the ally and friend of Iraq." He emphasized that Paris intended to "draw all the conclusions" and that in that respect, French policy was not susceptible of "any kind of change or alteration."



Calling Iraq an "ally" of France apparently leaves little room for compromise on one of the basic points in the dispute between France and Iran. It is true that Chirac also emphasized vigorously that France "was quite willing to normalize its relations with Iran." He said: "It was in that spirit that I felt it was legitimate to begin dialogue."

Before Chirac made those remarks, the Iranian deputy prime minister had, for his part, displayed some optimism concerning this resumption of French-Iranian dialogue. During a press conference, he drew attention with noticeable insistence to "the friendly and understanding climate" surrounding the talks in Paris and then added: "On the whole, we regard this trip as positive." He even praised the French prime minister, saying in particular: "With the coming to power of Chirac's government, we have witnessed positive developments (on the part of France); we have the feeling that Chirac is paying particular attention to Iran's strategic position,... and that strengthens us in our conviction that a successful conclusion is possible."

A "successful conclusion" is needed on three issues:

1. Iran's loan of \$1 billion to the Atomic Energy Commission in 1974. Moayeri said: "The loan must be repaid unconditionally." The issue is very complex technically since, as Chirac pointed out, France for its part regards itself as being "just as much Iran's creditor because of a number of big contracts which were cancelled without compensation" following the Iranian Revolution. But on both sides, it is pointed out that studies of the matter are well advanced and that progress could be made very rapidly.

2. The welcome France has given to opponents of the Islamic Revolution, especially Mahsoud Radjavi's Mojahedin of the People. Iran considers that they are using French territory as a base for subversive activities incompatible with their status as political refugees. Moayeri said Iran had requested the extradition of some of those opponents: "those whose hands are stained with blood," as he put it. He refrained from providing details on the subject, but hinted that Radjavi was one of those being demanded by Tehran. Paris seems willing to curb the militant activities of the Mojahedin to some extent, but even so, as Chirac pointed out, "France is not in the habit of deporting political refugees to their country of origin, and the possibility of its taking steps of that kind is completely out of the question."

3. That leaves the question of France's support for Iraq, which has been at war with Iran for 6 years. Because it concerns regional equilibriums, this is the thorniest issue in the dispute between Paris and Tehran. Should Chirac's remarks vigorously reaffirming the importance of French-Iraqi relations be interpreted as intended to reassure Baghdad, which is bound to be concerned by the beginnings of a rapprochement between Paris and Tehran? For his part, Moayeri showed caution. He simply said that he hoped France would practice "positive neutrality" with respect to the conflict: Tehran is not asking France to supply it with military equipment, only that it refrain from signing new arms contracts with Iraq. However that may be, it is clear that the attitude in Paris toward the belligerents will be the issue that determines how relations between France and Iran develop.

On the French side, it is emphasized that Moayeri's visit was not intended to enable the two parties to go into detail concerning the negotiation of their dispute, but "to create a favorable atmosphere." It is claimed that that has been achieved, and it is emphasized that there is now "a real will to make progress on the matters in dispute."

Appearing as the backdrop to this revival of French-Iranian dialogue is, of course, the question of the French citizens being held hostage in Lebanon by pro-Iranian Lebanese Shiites. Categorical at first, Moayeri explained that that matter was a "problem between France and Lebanon." He said: "Although Iran has sympathizers all over the world, it does not approve of all their actions." But the Iranian official immediately added that Tehran nevertheless intended to "make efforts" and "use its influence" to try to resolve the issue. His statement was a cautious one, and it is obviously still too soon to measure its significance.

One can also wonder about the exact significance of the condition that Chirac seems to have laid down by saying: "A nation with Iran's responsibilities has a duty to be free from all suspicion concerning any connivance with terrorist acts involving the taking of hostages. The precondition for any normalization is... that the authorities of that country do everything in their power to participate in solving the problem of the French hostages."

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CSO: 4619/58

SRI LANKA

ARTICLE DISCUSSES POSSIBILITY OF TOTAL CIVIL WAR

Paris LE MONDE in French 20 May 86 pp 1,3

[Article by special correspondent Patrice Claude]

[Text] Since Saturday, May 17, 3,000 to 4,000 Sinhalese soldiers supported by the small Marchetti planes and the helicopters of the Sri Lankan air force have been engaged in what appears to be the biggest battle in the island's ethnic conflict. The offensive, which is aimed at retaking control over the Tamil city-stronghold of Jaffna from the Tamil separatists, has left some 40 persons dead "on the terrorists' side," according to Colombo; the number of civilian casualties remains unknown at this time.

Several weeks ago, when he raised the possibility of a "total assault" on the Tamil capital to the north, the Sri Lankan minister of national security, Mr Lalith Athulathmudali, conceded that the operation would result "inevitably in casualties among civilians." However, the commander-in-chief of operations, General Cyril Ranatunga, is said to have ordered his men "to exercise a maximum of caution and restraint toward innocent populations."

According to independent information obtained from the surrounded city by telephone, the order is, for now, being fairly well respected and the number of civilian casualties is very limited. More than 1,000 Tamil travelers en route to Jaffna on Saturday were urged by the authorities to wait until the end of the operation to go there.

Sri Lanka's fourth largest city in population (150,000 inhabitants, all of them Tamil, the few Sinhalese having fled long ago), Jaffna has been "bombed regularly since Saturday," according to the rebels. From its headquarters in Madras in Tamil Nadu in India, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), the main separatist organization, reported Monday morning "the destruction of several schools, public buildings and private homes by the Army." No independent confirmation of the assertion could be obtained.

Deployed around the city in four different directions, the troop offensive is, according to the rebels, supported to the north of the peninsula by "several gunboats normally anchored in the port of Trincomalee." The

maritime blockade is apparently aimed at preventing the Tamil guerrillas based on the other side of the Palk Strait in southern India from coming to the rescue of their surrounded comrades. Initially estimated at 72 hours, the duration of the operation (which officially remains no more than a "routine movement of troops"), may be "revised," according to a defense communique issued in Colombo, the Sinhalese soldiers having apparently met with greater resistance than foreseen.

In short, this is not the blitzkrieg that was hoped for and the battle could last rather a long time. Again according to Colombo, a military detachment of about 1,000 men en route for Jaffna was attacked Sunday 45 km from the city by heavily armed rebels. The rebels have mortars and an impressive number of AK-47 automatic rifles, light and heavy machine guns as well as a supply of mines and grenade-launchers.

Determined "to hold their positions at all costs," according to their leaders in Madras, the armed separatists--estimated to be about 2,000 in the region--were working to fortify their camp with sand bags on Saturday. In Jaffna city where they have several bases (former private homes deserted by their occupants as well as "schools and fortified temples," according to Colombo), the militants count on the support of the civilians, the majority being favorable to the creation of an independent Tamil state, Eelam.

Two weeks ago, however, the city had been the scene of bloody clashes between two rival separatist groups, somewhat "cooling" the local population's fervor for independence. One hundred and fifty rebels opposed to the Tigers were massacred by LTTE men. It is not impossible that Colombo wanted to take advantage of this fratricidal war to launch its offensive. But the operation, enthusiastically backed by a large majority in Sinhalese and Buddhist public opinion\*, had been a foregone conclusion for many months.

"Now that we have practically cleaned out the east [of separatist presence], we are nearly able to launch a full-scale attack on Jaffna," the minister of national security told us several weeks ago. Last week in an interview with the SUNDAY TIMES, President Junius Richard Jayewardene threatened to "unleash the troops" on Jaffna if the separatists did not promptly accept his "final proposals" for a negotiated settlement. Deemed by New Delhi to be "a bit more positive than the previous ones," the latest Sri Lankan offers--limited to provincial autonomy for the island's north and east--remain unacceptable to the Islamic current. Colombo knows this and, incidentally, did not wait for the Tamil organizations to give an official response before launching the operation.\*

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\* In Sri Lanka, there are 11 million Buddhist Sinhalese for 2.8 million Tamils, most of them Hindus.

In fact, the operation--probably triggered by the two bomb attacks committed by the separatists in Colombo (one on an Air Lanka plane, the other at a post office in the capital, leaving a total of 28 dead and 153 injured)--began about a week ago. Several hundreds of Tamil civil servants at the airport, the central post office and in national television were suddenly put on special--and paid--leave for one month. Denounced by moderate Tamil politicians as "the beginning of apartheid in Sri Lanka," the measure "was taken in order to protect the Tamils themselves against terrorist blackmail," according to the authorities.

Notably, the Tamil airport employee arrested after the bomb blast aboard the Air Lanka Tristar stated that he had been forced to plant the bomb by the terrorists, as they had threatened, if he refused, to slay his family living in Jaffna. There is no doubt, however, that the ouster of Tamils from the civil service is also aimed at preventing any violent reaction from the minority in the event that the Jaffna offensive turns into a massacre.

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